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HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN THE

STATE OF KENTUCKY;

WITH

A PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE CHURCHES IN THE VALLEY
OF VIRGINIA.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT DAVIDSON, D.D.

AUTHOR OF AN "EXCURSION TO THE MAMMOTH CAVE," AND "NOTICES OF THE EARLY
SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY;" LATE PRESIDENT OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY;
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HONORARY MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE, ETC.

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referre omnia quæ dicta et acta sunt."—FABRONI, IN VIT. LAUR. MED.

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P R E F A C E .

THERE is no section of the Presbyterian Church on the Western Continent, whose history has been more eventful or interesting than that planted in Kentucky. The project of perpetuating the memory of its early incidents has been entertained by several able and distinguished divines ; Dr. John P. Campbell, the Rev. John McFarland, the Rev. William L. McCalla, and Dr. Thomas Cleland ; but the task has hitherto remained unaccomplished. Dr. Bishop's "Outline," though containing a mass of interesting matter, is not a connected history, and professes nothing beyond the preservation of materials for a successor in the field.

The work now offered to the public is the fruit of nine years' laborious research during the intervals of professional cares, oftentimes sufficiently arduous and perplexing. In one respect at least, Horace's rule has been partially complied with ; viz : waiting for "*the ninth rip'ning year.*" Not only has the author travelled, like Scott and Alison, in quest of truth, and like Froissart, conversed personally with the actors in the great drama of the past ; but he has enjoyed facilities, providentially put in his way, of no ordinary value. The Diaries of the Rev. John Lyle were just on the point of being committed to the flames as waste paper, when they fell into the author's hands.

through the friendly agency of the Rev. Robert Stuart.* In looking over the contents, which were seen at a glance to be of inestimable importance, the following paragraph came to light. "The foregoing short sketches were written hastily for private use; and should I die before I destroy them, I would not allow my friends to hand them about, or any one to use them, except some judicious friend might make an extract of those few particulars which might be useful in writing a history of the progress of religion in Kentucky." Hereupon the author claimed a warrant for retaining the precious MS., provided his venerable friend would vouch for his coming under the category of being the "*judicious*" person required. This Diary, kept during the height of the great revival of 1800-1803, has proved an invaluable document, and will be frequently referred to.

Another instance of good fortune was the reception from the late Professor Edward Graham, of Lexington, Virginia, of nine sheets of foolscap, containing a variety of curious matter in regard to the early history of the churches in the valley of Virginia. To the patient and friendly offices of Dr. Archibald Alexander, this portion of the work is likewise much indebted. There are other persons, as Dr. Blythe, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Fishback, Mrs. Lyle, Mrs. Dr. Marshall, Mrs. J. M. C. Irwin, &c., from whose lips much valuable information was obtained, of which their lamented death would otherwise have deprived the world forever. To General McAfee, Glass Marshall, Esq., Mrs. Thomas Skillman, James Stonestreet, Esq., General John M. McCalla, Rev. R. Stuart, Dr. Thomas Cleland, Rev. Lyman Seely, Mrs. N. Burrowes, Dr. W. W. Hall, Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, Dr. William Ridgley, Rev. Jacob F. Price, J. Lyle,

* In 1845, a similar fortunate chance befell the author, in rescuing from the same fate the MS. Letter-Book of Lewis Morris, the first Governor of New Jersey; the substance of which was embodied in a Memoir, and read before the New Jersey Historical Society.

Esq., &c., the writer is under obligations for various books, pamphlets, and MSS., of which he has largely availed himself. But to no individual is he more indebted than the Rev. Robert Stuart; whose full, accurate, and obliging communications are acknowledged with the warmest gratitude.

From these sources, and the original records of the various ecclesiastical bodies, the following history has been prepared. In regard to later events, the writer having personally mingled in them, must consent to be held responsible himself for the accuracy of his statements. Truth has been his object; and his aim, to hold an impartial pen. Compelled by the force of evidence to alter some of his own pre-conceived opinions, he asks similar candor on the part of his reader. In consequence of the desire to compress the book into a reasonable size, some things have been of necessity omitted, particularly the statistics of the churches. But as the Rev. Mr. Shane was known to be engaged in the preparation of such statistics, the omission was the more readily made.

In the opinion of some, all revelations, not of a eulogistic character, had better be suppressed. They differ widely from Fabroni, whose words are quoted in the title-page, and who deemed truth the first characteristic of a historian. Should others object to some of the details in the following pages as beneath the majestic march of the historic muse, they are entreated to ponder the opinion of Macaulay. "There is a vile phrase," says that distinguished writer, "of which bad historians are exceedingly fond—the dignity of history." One writer is in possession of some anecdotes which would illustrate most strikingly the operation of the Mississippi scheme on the manners and morals of the Parisians. But he suppresses those anecdotes because they are too low for the dignity of history. The true historian will not think anything too trivial for the gravity of history, which is not too trivial to promote or diminish the happiness of man."

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HISTORY

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PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KENTUCKY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—SKETCH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN
THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

A HISTORY, like a piece of mosaic, is a selection from an infinite variety of minute particulars, so arranged as to form a perfect picture; of which the design should be unique, the details rich, the characters well grouped and full of animation, the coloring warm, and the background in keeping. But while there is a resemblance in the nature and the difficulty of the task, the Artist has an undeniable advantage over the Author, in being privileged to draw at will from the stores of fancy, to heighten the charms of his favorite Ideal; while the Historian, bound by more rigid rules, is forbidden to indulge in the flowery fields of fiction, and must sacrifice the most tempting embellishment for the sake of truth. The subject of the following researches has but few attractions for the poetical and imaginative mind, nor is it permitted to borrow those fascinating arts by which the Genius of Romance can impart interest even to border feuds and high-land clans; but the lover of nature, it is hoped, may derive pleasure from contemplating new phases of human character; the philosophical inquirer, from tracing the connection of events and their influence upon each other; the canonist, from the study of important precedents and often-quoted decisions; and the admirer of Knox and Melville, from recognizing the same elevated, uncompromising, and indomitable spirit among the cabins and canebrakes of the Great West, that formerly stood

up unflinching for Christ's Crown and Covenant at the foot of the heath-clad Grampians.

It is from the KIRK OF SCOTLAND, in her days of depression and cruel trial, that the Presbyterians of Kentucky delight to deduce their origin; and the intermediate links by which that descent is verified, through the North of Ireland and the Valley of Virginia, may not improperly occupy a preliminary chapter.

After the subjugation of Ulster, in the reign of James I., the semi-barbarous natives were replaced by a colony of tenants from Great Britain—attracted thither by liberal grants of land.* From that time the North of Ireland went by the name of the Plantation of Ulster. Owing to the vicinity and superior enterprise of the people of Scotland, the principal part of the new settlers came from that country; which circumstance afterwards gave rise to the appellation of Scotch-Irish, denoting not the intermarriage of two races, but the peopling of one country by the natives of another, in the same manner as we familiarly speak of the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Americans, and the Indo-Britons.†

The colonists soon manifested a strong desire for the regular ordinances of public worship; but the English clergy being loth to relinquish their comfortable benefices, the Presbyterian ministers who came over from Scotland were thereby left at liberty to organize the majority of the Churches after their own model. Archbishop Usher, more wise and tolerant than most of his order, consented to a compromise of ecclesiastical differences, in consequence of which there was no formal separation from the Establishment. It was not long, however, until the haughty Wentworth—instigated by that furious bigot, Laud—began to persecute the nonconformists of Ulster, and force them to turn their eyes to the New World, already known as an asylum for the oppressed. Having built a ship of one hundred and fifty tons burthen, to which they gave the name of the Eagle-wing, one hundred and forty of them embarked for New England, on the 9th of September, 1636. But being driven back by contrary winds, they were compelled to drop anchor in Loch Fergus, and finally to take refuge in the Western parts of Scotland; where they were soon joined by many others, fugitives like themselves from fines and other punishments. Had this enterprise succeed-

* Hume's Engl. c. xlv. Lingard, vol. ix., p. 168.

† Winterbotham's Historical View of the U. S., vol. ii., p. 439.

ed, the EAGLE-WING might have attained as enviable a celebrity in the annals of American colonization as the more fortunate MAYFLOWER.*

After the death of Strafford, tranquillity was restored to Ireland, and in 1642, the year in which the civil war commenced, and the year after the Popish Massacre, the first Presbytery in Ireland met at Carrickfergus, on Friday, June 10th.† One of their first acts was to petition the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk to send them aid; and, in compliance with their request, several ministers were sent over during that and the two following years.‡ From this period the progress of Presbyterianism was rapid, and many of the Episcopal clergy came forward and joined the Presbytery. Thus was founded the celebrated Synod of Ulster.§

With the Restoration returned Prelacy, in no degree softened by its temporary deprivation. Both Charles II. and James II. were bent on carrying out their father's policy of forcing Episcopacy on Great Britain, under the impression that its monarchical structure rendered it a fit tool for forwarding their own despotic views.||

In England, ever since the memorable St. Bartholomew's day, all eyes had been anxiously directed to the Transatlantic settlements, notwithstanding they were as yet a wilderness; and while some fled to Holland, a great number, together with many of the ejected ministers, betook themselves to New England, Pennsylvania, and other American plantations.¶ In Scotland, fines, imprisonments, and whippings, were abundant from 1662, when the Act of Conformity was passed, until 1688, when the

* Reid's Hist. of the Presb. Church in Ireland, vol. i. pp. 201, 205.

† Reid, vol. i. p. 371.

‡ A remark of Wodrow is worthy of notice. "I have always found," says he, "the elder Presbyterian ministers, in Ireland, reckoning themselves upon the same bottom with, and as it were, a branch of, the Church of Scotland." Wodrow's Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 324. This citation may serve to rebut Dr. Hill's sneers about the Presbyterianism of the Kirk of Scotland, being widely and manifestly different from the milder and more liberal Irish Presbyterianism. Hill's Hist. of Amer. Presb. p. 151.

§ Reid, vol. i. p. 385.

|| "But he judged the Church of England to be a most fit instrument for rendering the monarchy absolute. On the other hand, the Presbyterians were thought naturally hostile to the principles of passive obedience." Fox's Hist. of James II., c. ii. p. 88.

¶ Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 282. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 264, 272. Haweis' Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 286. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 206.

Act of Toleration gave relief under the Presbyterian Prince of Orange. The Western and Southern counties, which, according to Hume, were the most populous and thriving, were the most obnoxious; and the severity of the persecution surpassed, in the judgment of Bishop Burnet, the merciless rigors of the Duke of Alva.* Many sold their estates and crossed over to the Scots of Ulster, where, for a time, unrestricted liberty was allowed.† But the arm of intolerance soon followed them to this retreat; and the hunted down nonconformists felt that they had no resource short of absolute expatriation. In order that the fury of the prelates might have full sweep, the Presbyterians and their ejected ministers were forbidden to fly into Scotland to avoid it.‡ Of these ejected ministers, both in Scotland and Ireland, Wodrow gives a catalogue amounting to four hundred.§

In consequence of the persecutions of 1679, 1682, and 1685, crowds of voluntary exiles sought an asylum in East New Jersey, Carolina and Maryland. The North of Ireland shared in the general drain. The arbitrary measures pursued by James II., together with apprehensions of a general massacre by the Papists, emboldened as they were by the undisguised partiality of the king, caused such multitudes, despairing of safety, to fly to foreign climes, that trade declined, and the revenue languished.|| Successive emigrations from the North of Ireland continued to pour into Pennsylvania in such numbers, that by the year 1705, there were sufficient Presbyterian Churches in that province, in conjunction with those of the provinces contiguous, to constitute a presbytery, and a few years later, (1717,) a synod.

While a portion of these emigrants preferred the Atlantic slope, others pushed into the interior, and spreading over what were then the frontier counties of Pennsylvania, extended their settlements southward, till they had crossed the Potomac and the Catawba.¶ They served as a company of hardy and enterprising pioneers, and first established the benefits of civilization and

* Hume, c. lxvi. Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii. p. 345.

† Burnet, vol. i. pp. 308, 347.

‡ Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 108, 342.

§ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 324, note.

|| Crawford's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 173. Neal, vol. iii. p. 277. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 276. Hume, c. lxx.

¶ Winterbotham, vol. ii. p. 439. Hawks' Eccl. Hist. of Virginia, pp. 99, 111. Stuart's Reminiscences. (West. Presb. Herald, vol. vi. p. 85.)

Christianity along the entire frontiers of Virginia and the Carolinas. Their posterity are a tall, muscular, and industrious race and they have inherited from their forefathers, independence and integrity of character, exemplary morals, and a deep reverence for the institutions of religion.* The Western Virginians have always been marked by strong points of difference from the inhabitants of "the Old Dominion," east of the Blue Ridge, who rejoice in having sprung from the party of the Cavaliers and the High Church, are fonder of luxury and ease, and have shown a more decided partiality for the continuance of slavery.

Of such a people, who had exchanged their native country for a wilderness, for conscience' sake, and who only hugged their religion the closer the more they were persecuted, it might reasonably be expected, that they would deem it among their first duties, like faithful Abraham in his migrations, to erect the altar where they pitched the tent. Accordingly, we find among the records of the Synod of Philadelphia, as early as 1719, some notices of a congregation designated as "*the people of Potomoke in Virginia*," and their petition to have a minister sent them; of which more will be said presently.

In 1722, we find the Synod again interesting themselves in the people of Virginia. The minute is as follows:—"A representation being made by some of our members of the earnest desires of some Protestant dissenting families in Virginia, together with a comfortable prospect of the increase of our interest there, the Synod have appointed, that Mr. Hugh Conn, Mr. John Orme, and Mr. William Stewart, do each of them, severally, visit said people, and preach four Sabbaths to them, between this and the next Synod."† The next year we find farther measures adopted to continue ministerial supplies, together with a notice of a letter to the people, in reply to a communication from them; and the year following (1724), on the receipt of another letter from "the people of Virginia," the whole subject was referred to the Presbytery of Newcastle; after which the records are silent.‡ There

* Flint's Hist. and Geography of the U. S., vol. i. p. 430. The people living on the east side of the Blue Ridge, received the odd sobriquet of Tuckahoes, from a small stream of that name; while the people on the west side were as oddly denominated Cohoes, (pronounced Cohees,) as tradition says, from their common use of the term "Quoth he," or "Quo' he." These terms have now fallen into disuse.

† Min. Syn. of Phil. p. 72.

‡ Min. Syn. of Phil. p. 74. The early records of Newcastle Presbytery are not extant.

was no part of Virginia, which at this period answered so well to the description, as affording a comfortable prospect of the increase of the Presbyterian interest, as the region west of the Blue Ridge. Organ, the pious Scotch schoolmaster, had not yet commenced his useful labors; * Morris' reading-house was not yet established; † Mr. Makemie's attention, as well as that of his successors, was chiefly directed to the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay; ‡ and Mr. Macky's feeble congregation, on Elizabeth river, near Norfolk, had long before this become extinct, through persecution. § Perhaps the statement about to follow, may contribute to throw light on this obscure point.

In May, 1738, upon the supplication of John Caldwell, for himself and others, the Synod appointed a deputation to wait on the Governor and Council, "with suitable instructions, in order to procure the favor and countenance of the government of the province, to the laying a foundation of our interest *in the back parts thereof*, where *considerable numbers* of families of our persuasion are settling;" and a letter was prepared to be presented to the Governor, to which he replied as follows:

"SIR,—By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And, as I have been always inclined to favor the people *who have lately removed from other provinces* to settle *on the western side of our great mountains*; so, you may be assured that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them; so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer of theirs. Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM GOOCH.

"Williamsburg, November 4th, 1738."||

So rapid was the settlement of the Valley, and so steadily flowed the tide of emigration from Pennsylvania toward its

* Organ began to hold religious meetings about 1730, on the Northern Neck, between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers.

† It was set up in 1743. Miller's Rodgers, p. 35.

‡ Spence, p. 86.

§ Hill's Hist. p. 155.

|| Min. Syn. p. 145.

south-western boundary, that it was found necessary, this year, (1738,) to lay off all the country, west of the Blue Ridge, into two new counties; Frederick, which comprised the northern portion, and Augusta, the southern: Rockbridge county, (so called from its famous curiosity, the Natural Bridge,) was not set off till long after (1777).^{*} The charming valleys and verdant nooks, embosomed among the various mountain ranges, were soon dotted with thriving farms; for the agricultural life was decidedly preferred to being pent up in towns. At this period there were but two cabins where Winchester now stands; nor was that town incorporated till 1752; and even at the commencement of the Revolution it contained only 800 inhabitants. Staunton was not established by law till 1761, nor Lexington till 1777.[†]

The population of the fertile county of Frederick, which was first settled, owing to its contiguity to Pennsylvania, was of a mixed sort, consisting of Germans, Quakers, and Irish Presbyterians. The latter planted themselves along the larger water-courses; Back Creek, the South Branch of Potomac, the North Mountain, Cedar Creek, and Opequon Creek. Here lived the ancestors of the Glasses, the Allens, the Vances, the Kerfoots, the Whites, the Russells, the Blackburns, and the Wilsons.[‡]

A great part of this region, lying between the North Mountain and the Shenandoah river, although now adorned with the finest forest trees, was, at the period described, a spacious prairie, barren of timber, but clothed with the richest herbage; on which herds of buffalo, elk, and deer luxuriated. It was consequently a favorite hunting-ground, or "Middle Ground," of the Indians, who loved to resort thither to pursue the chase.[§]

While the fat lands of the Shenandoah were eagerly occupied by Germans, who long retained the primitive dress and manners of their father-land, Augusta county was settled by a homogeneous Scotch-Irish population from Pennsylvania, generally respectable for intelligence and piety. They settled mainly on Beverly's and Burden's grants. Beverly was a resident of Eastern Virginia, who had obtained a grant for a large quan-

^{*} Kercheval's *Hist. of the Valley of Virginia*. pp. 233, 236.

[†] Kercheval, pp. 238, 241, 243. The original townplot of Lexington was on a diminutive scale. It was to be laid off 1,300 feet in length, and 900 in width.

[‡] Kercheval, pp. 73, 81.

[§] Kercheval, p. 69.

tity of land, which he offered for sale at three pounds per 100 acres. But Burden* had a tract of 92,000 acres adjoining, (covering half of what is now Rockbridge county, from the North Mountain to the Blue Ridge,) and endeavored to underbid him, not only by giving more liberal credit, but promising fifty acres additional to every purchaser of 250.

The first settlers on this tract were John McDowell, (Burden's Surveyor,) and his brother-in-law, James Greenlee, in 1737, near the present village of Fairfield. John McDowell was the ancestor of the McDowells of Kentucky, and of the distinguished statesman and orator, Governor James McDowell. Mary Greenlee, his sister, attained the age of a hundred years and upwards; and was known through two or three generations, (like Mrs. Grant's Aunt Schuyler, of Albany,) by the familiar appellation of Aunt Mary. None of the original owners of these great tracts seem to have had in view the extension of the gospel, civilization, or literature, or any aim beyond the mere acquisition of property: but in consequence of this the inhabitants were left to their religious liberty without interference.†

Among the early settlers of this region may also be mentioned two brothers, by the names of Robert and Archibald Alexander. Robert was a graduate of Dublin University, and a good classical scholar. He taught the first Latin School west of the Blue Ridge. His brother Archibald was the agent of Benjamin Burden, Jr., and drew up all his conveyances, which were very

* Benjamin Burden was of German extraction, from the colony of New Jersey. Being agent of Lord Fairfax for the Neck, he was induced to visit the Valley in 1736; and was so well pleased that he secured patents on his own account, from Governor Gooch, for 500,000 acres; having ingratiated himself by the present of a fine young buffalo calf. His grant comprised several valuable tracts of land in Frederick and Augusta; one of which is the 92,000 acre tract above mentioned. He was required to import, and place on said land, one settler for every 1000 acres. His number proving deficient, notwithstanding his liberal inducements, he had recourse to a stratagem. When the King's Commissioner arrived, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the stipulation had been complied with, he found ninety-two cabins, indeed, and was made to believe there were as many settlers. A man, having received his instructions, was stationed at cabin No. 1, and the Commissioner, riding by with Burden's agent, took note of him accordingly. The Commissioner was then taken by a circuitous route through the woods to cabin No. 2, where the same man who had been seen at No. 1, again presented himself, disguised in a different dress; and was set down as another settler. Thus the same individual was counted several times over. —MS. Letters of the late Edward Graham, of Lexington, Va., to the Author, letter I. For further particulars of Burden, see Howe's Hist. Collections of Va., pp. 452, 453.

† Graham, Lett. I.

complicated, and are now regarded as a great curiosity. He was the grandfather of Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton. He rendered himself very useful in patronizing promising young men, lending them suitable books, giving them judicious advice, and endeavoring to make them intelligent and respectable members of society.* Besides the McDowells and Alexanders, may be mentioned the families of the Pattons, the Moores, the Telfords, the Matthews, the Prestons, the Paxtons, the Lyles, the Stuarts, the Crawfords, the Cumminses, the Browns, the Wallaces, the Willsons, the Carutherses, the Campbells, the McCampbells, the McClungs, the McCues, the McKees, the McCouns, &c. An austere, thoughtful race, they preferred the peaceful pursuits of agriculture to the wild license of the hunter's life, and constituted a manly and virtuous yeomanry; of whom Washington is reported to have said, that should all his plans be crushed, and but a single standard left him, he would plant that standard on the Blue Ridge, make the mountain heights his barrier, and rallying round him the noblest patriots of the Valley, found, under better auspices, a new republic in the West.†

More fortunate than the Dissenters in "the Ancient Dominion," the Presbyterians of the Valley enjoyed, from their first settlement, the liberty of worshipping God according to the custom of their forefathers, unnoticed and unmolested. This immunity is not to be ascribed either to the leniency of the Government, as some have pretended, since the laws were severe and their enforcement rigid;‡ nor to the tolerant temper

* Graham, Letter VI. † Howe's Hist. Coll. of Va. p. 453.

‡ By the law of 1618, absentees from the parish church were punished by a fine and a night in the stocks, and, for the third offence, by being made slaves to the Colony for a year and a day. Grahame's Hist. of the U. S., vol. i., p. 165; Holmes' Amer. Annals, vol. i., p. 194; Burk's Hist. of Va., app. p. xiv; Stith's Hist. of Va. p. 148. Dr. Hawks has adduced, in proof of the liberality of the government, its indulgence to the French refugees and German emigrants. Hist. of the Prot. Episc. Church in Virginia, pp. 78, 81, 94. Yet the same pen has recorded the banishment of the Congregational Missionaries in 1643, p. 53; the subsequent imprisonment of many of the congregation they had gathered, and the expulsion of the pastor Harrison, p. 57; the heavy fines imposed upon the Quakers, p. 68; the imprisonment of the Baptists, p. 121; the repeated fining of Mr. Morris and the Presbyterians, p. 107; and the frequent and vexatious opposition of the Colonial Courts to Mr. Davies' claim to the extension of the Act of Toleration, even when he was provided with a license, p. 109. It is not in this instance alone that this historian has given facts a coloring favorable to his prejudices; his brethren of his own sect have censured the neglect with which he has treated the memory of that devoted servant of Christ, the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, because he was not a High-Churchman.

of the established clergy, who always showed sufficient alertness in rousing the secular arm,* while many of them were so dissolute as to be a disgrace to their calling.† It was rather owing, in part, to their secluded situation and remoteness from the seat of government, and, in part, to the absence of glebe-lands.‡

Presbyterian congregations existed in the Valley of Virginia very early in the last century, though they were not supplied with the ministrations of regular pastors until long afterward. "The People of POTOMOKE," believed to be identical with the congregations of FALLING WATER and TUSCARORA, near the present town of Martinsburg, were supplied by the Synod of Philadelphia at their request, in 1719.§ In compliance with their desire to have "an able gospel minister to settle among them," the Rev. DANIEL MAGILL|| was appointed to visit and preach to them, with a view to settlement; and, after a stay of some months, he reported, the following year, that he had "put the people into church order." This is the earliest authentic notice we have of a regularly organized congregation in the

* Taylor's Lives, pp. 79, 121, 122, 143, 148; Kercheval, pp. 87, 88; Miller's Rodgers, p. 47.

† Most of the established clergy felt no interest in the Church beyond the 16,000 pounds of tobacco, which constituted their annual stipend; and which, at ten shillings per hundred, was worth £80, but generally double that sum. Beverley, apud Burk, vol. ii., app. p. xiii. They gave themselves up to worldly and frivolous amusements, such as horse-racing, cock-fighting, fox-hunting and carousing. Hawks, pp. 65, 117, 120. Such were the men to whom Jane Taylor's sarcasm may, with too much truth, be applied:

"Who, while they hate the *Gospel*, love the *Church*."

‡ "On the west side of the Blue Ridge, a large proportion of the first settlers were dissenters. Nor did they, as far as I can learn, ever meet with any serious obstructions from government." Dr. Hoge's Letter in 1813. apud Campbell's Hist. of Virginia, p. 304. Dr. Hawks admits that "they were so far removed from the seat of the Colonial government, that they encountered but little opposition from the ruling powers." Hist. p. 99.

§ Min. Syn. Phil., pp. 55, 58. "It is said that the spot where Tuscarora Meeting-House now stands, in the county of Berkeley, is the first place where the gospel was publicly preached and divine service performed west of the Blue Ridge. This was, and still continues, a Presbyterian edifice. . . . There was a house erected for public worship at the Falling Water, about the same time that the Tuscarora Meeting-House was built. Both these Churches are now under the pastoral care of the Rev. James M. Brown." Kercheval, p. 83. It is worthy of examination, however, whether "the people of Potomoke" may not be identical with a congregation in Fauquier, long since extinct.

|| Mr. Magill came from Scotland in 1713, at the solicitation of some Scotch merchants in London, who were desirous of procuring a minister for their friends trading on the Patuxent, or Upper Marlboro'. He ministered among them till his mission to Virginia in 1719. Glances at the Past, No. III. Presb. Apl. 18, 1846. He was an austere man, but admired as a preacher. He died in 1723.

Valley. Mr. Magill ministered so much to their satisfaction, that they sent up an urgent petition for his services as their pastor, but he saw fit to decline the call.

OPEQUON, so called from the creek of that name, five miles south-west of Winchester, claims to be one of the oldest churches in the State, after those of Makemie's planting. The present stone edifice, which stands under the shade of a venerable old grove, is the third structure in which the congregation has worshipped. In the graveyard is a time-worn headstone, which tells that they who slumber beneath came from Ireland in 1737.* Around repose the ancestors of the Marcuses, the Gilkersons, the Allens, the Vances, the Glasses, and the Hoges. The land was originally given by William Hoge, whose residence was adjoining, the uncle of the first pastor, and the grandfather of Dr. Moses Hoge.†

The missionaries sent by the Synod of Philadelphia southward, used to stop and preach here; among them, Mr. Robinson, on that famous tour which made him acquainted with Morris and his friends. The first minister of Opequon was the Rev. JOHN HOGGE, who served the congregation many years, until his removal to Pennsylvania, where he died. He was succeeded by MONTGOMERY, NASH LEGRAND, SHANNON, CHAPMAN, &c. The Church has enjoyed many revivals of religion, especially during the ministry of Mr. Legrand, when large additions were received. A great number shortly after migrated to Kentucky, and, while the Church they left was weakened by their removal, contributed to build up new congregations in that distant region.‡

The earliest congregation formed in Augusta county was AUGUSTA CHURCH, then known familiarly as the STONE MEETING-

* The inscription, rudely chiselled, is almost obliterated and illegible. On one side it reads: "JOHN WILSON INTERED HERE THE BODY OF HIS 2 CHILDER & WIFE YD MOTHER MARY MARCUS WHO DYED AGST THE 4th 1742 AGED 22 YEARS." On the reverse, "FROM IRELAND JULY VI 1737 COTY ARMAGHS." The Rev. Mr. Foote informs me that none of the Hoges or Glasses came earlier than 1735; and that there is no evidence of any white settler in the county as early as 1730.

† In the MS. Life of Dr. Moses Hoge, the Rev. John B. Hoge says that the Rev. Samuel Gelston, of Donegal Presbytery, was sent to Opequon (or Opequhon), in 1737, and probably at that time organized the Church. See those admirable papers, Glances at the Past, No. III., Presb. Apl. 18, 1846. But Mr. Gelston's name is not on the records of the Synod that year, nor is there any mention of such a mission.

‡ Prot. and Herald, Jan. 12, 1843.

HOUSE. It stands about eight miles below Staunton. Next was formed the congregation of TINKLING SPRING, half-a-dozen miles east of the same place. They were originally a joint charge.* Their first pastor was the Rev. JOHN CRAIG, a native of the North of Ireland, who was called in 1739, and ordained by the Presbytery of Donegal the following year. He served the two congregations, jointly, for twenty-five years, till 1764, when he relinquished the care of the latter, and confined his labors to Augusta alone. The people, whom he found few and poor and without order, he had the satisfaction of leaving a numerous and wealthy congregation, well able to support the Gospel, and of good repute. Mr. Craig espoused the Old Side, in the division of 1741, uniting with that party which was suspicious of the revival under Whitefield and the Tennants, and preferred cool, moderate, doctrinal preaching. He was a strong-minded, diligent, and persevering minister, strictly orthodox, and yet pungent in the application of the truth to the conscience. His discourses were decidedly Calvinistic, and prepared in the old formal scholastic style, abounding in minute divisions and subdivisions, verging to what, in these degenerate days, would be accounted tediousness.† He was considered a good man, and was much beloved by his people, his memory being to this day held in veneration in that region; but he was lax in church discipline, the bad effects of which were felt long after his death.‡ After

* Graham, Lett. I.

† This is apparent from a perusal of the sermon before alluded to, the only one ever printed. The text was, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, "Yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure; for this is all my salvation, and all my desire." The sermon follows the exhaustive method, and contains fifty-five divisions and subdivisions. The style is plain, unadorned, and strenuous; and it is a manly testimony to Calvinism. See Balt. Mag., vol. vi., p. 542. Mr. Craig walked five miles to his church. The morning service continued from 10 o'clock till 12. After an hour's recess, the afternoon service lasted from 1 o'clock till sunset; and sometimes it was so late that the Clerk found it difficult to read the last psalm. Graham, Lett. VIII.

‡ An anecdote is told of his having been sent by Hanover Presbytery to organize churches and ordain elders, among the settlements on New River and Holstein. On his return he reported a surprising number of elders whom he had ordained; and on being questioned how he found suitable materials for so many, he replied, in his rich brogue, "*Where I cudna get hearn stanes, I tuk dornacks.*" A dornack is a rough mis-shapen stone, generally rejected by builders. Graham, Lett. VIII. Another anecdote may be inserted here, on the same authority, illustrative of the indomitable pertinacity which formed a prominent characteristic of himself and his people. Tinkling Spring Meeting-House was built upon a pleasant hill, with a beautiful clear spring gushing from its side, which gave rise to the name. Mr. Craig was opposed to the site, preferring another, more central. When he found himself overruled, he declared

Braddock's defeat, when the frontier lay exposed to the incursions of the savages, Mr. Craig, with his characteristic resoluteness, refused to fly, and encouraged his people to remain and build stockades for their protection. Augusta Church was fortified with mounds and ditches, the remains of which are seen to this day. The inhabitants, in consequence of these precautions, maintained possession of their cabins and clearings with but little loss, although the Redskins were often seen prowling in the vicinity. The constant uneasiness and alarm in which they were kept, may be inferred from the fact of all the men carrying their rifles to church with them, and posting sentries on the look-out.*

Owing to their distance from Philadelphia, Mr. Craig, and other ministers residing in the Valley of Virginia, (and, indeed, the whole Presbytery of Hanover), were frequently absent from the meetings of the Synod. The Synod, however, were very tenacious on this point, and insisted on more punctual attendance, even threatening to disown them. In consequence of this threat, Messrs. Craig and Black made their appearance in 1759, the year after the reunion of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia; but although Mr. Craig's name occasionally appears after this on missionary appointments or an installation, he never met again with the Synod. His death took place fifteen years afterwards, in April, 1774.†

The Rev. WILLIAM WILSON, a pupil of Mr. Graham, succeeded Mr. Craig in the pastoral charge of Augusta Church.‡ Mr. Wilson taught a Grammar School also; and was so familiar with the Greek and Latin classics, that, by the help of an extraordinary memory, he could repeat a large part of Homer and Virgil by heart. After him Dr. CONRAD SPEECE was chosen pastor. Dr. Speece was of German extraction. His precocious talents attracted the notice of the late Edward Graham, brother of the Rector; who, with some difficulty, extorted permission from his father to educate him without compensation. His progress in the Latin Grammar was very slow, but this was owing to the analytical turn of his mind,

in the heat of his feelings, "that none of that water should ever *tinkle* down his throat." The vow, so rashly made, was, nevertheless, scrupulously kept; and, though he afterwards was known to rinse his parched mouth in midsummer, he never permitted himself to swallow a drop.

* Viator, Prot. and Her. June 13, 1844.

† Min. Syn. N. Y. and Phil. pp. 289, 451.

‡ Graham, Lett. II. Dr. Alexander's Letter, Prot. and Her. vol. X. No. 36.

which examined and compared the various parts carefully, so that when he had reached the end, he was a thorough master of the philosophy of the language, and in six months was able to read a Latin book with ease. This was about the age of fourteen. He was afterwards engaged as a tutor in Hampden Sydney, during which time his mind was troubled on the subject of immersion, and he joined the Baptists. They immediately set him to preaching, but it was not very long before he became alienated from his new creed and connection, and gladly returned to the Presbyterian Church. After his licensure by Hanover Presbytery he preached in Montgomery county, and for some years in Powhatan, when he was called to Augusta Church; in the charge of which congregation he continued till his death, in 1835. Dr. Speece was a man of extensive reading, extraordinary abilities, and notwithstanding his gross and unwieldy habit, of a refined taste and tender feelings. He was a fine classical and belles-lettres scholar; and he possessed a remarkably choice and valuable library, which he intended to bequeath to some literary institution, but his sudden decease frustrated the design. A collection of fugitive essays of his was published under the title of "The Mountaineer." His fluency and correctness in public speaking were astonishing; and he reprobated the practice of committing sermons to memory. In deliberative bodies his judgment was habitually deferred to, and his opinions carried great weight. The attributes of his mind were comprehension, clearness, and force. He never attempted the pathetic, but his forte was convincing argument, of the cumulative sort, ending in an overpowering climax. His foible was the opposite of prodigality; a habit probably induced by the narrowness of his early circumstances. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Brown, who still sustains the pastoral relation.

Upon the retirement of Mr. Craig from Tinkling Spring, in 1764, the congregation invited, as his successor, the Rev. JAMES WADDEL, D. D., since immortalized by the elegant pen of Mr. Wirt, as "The Blind Preacher." Mr. Waddel declined the call at that time, but on its being renewed in 1766, (during which interval of twelve years the Church had lain vacant,) he accepted it, his shattered health requiring the bracing mountain air.*

* Memoir of Dr. Waddel, by his grandson, Dr. James W. Alexander, No. II. Watchman of the South, and Prot. and Her. Oct. 24th, 1844.

This celebrated divine was born in the North of Ireland, in 1739, but emigrated to Western Pennsylvania at an early age. He was educated at Dr. Finlay's Nottingham Academy, and designed to practice medicine, but encountering Mr. Daviess, was dissuaded from his purpose. He then studied theology with the Rev. John Todd, and was licensed in 1762. He preached with great acceptance on the Northern Neck, till his constitution was ruined by the fever of the country. He then removed to Tinkling Spring Church, where his health was soon restored. At this period of his life he was remarkable for his tall and erect person, his dignified and graceful mien, and his elegant manners.

He was a man of strong character, and great personal intrepidity, which was not only exemplified in his boldness in the pulpit, but in some signal instances of patriotic zeal during the revolutionary war.

In 1783, Mr. Waddel organized a congregation at STAUNTON, to whom he preached on alternate Sabbaths. The joint salary was forty-five pounds. Two or three years after, he removed to an estate of a thousand acres he had purchased¹ in Louisa, where he taught a select school, of which the late Gov. Barbour, David Rice, and Meriwether Lewis, the explorer of the Rocky Mountains, were pupils. He was a fine classical scholar, and had a keen relish for literature. After his removal to Louisa, he lost his sight from cataract, but still continued to preach; and it was during this period that Mr. Wirt was thrilled by his eloquence in the secluded little Church in Orange county. He died September 17th, 1805.

The testimonies to Dr. Waddel's surpassing eloquence are numerous and unquestionable. Like his celebrated compeer, Patrick Henry, he had, in early life, caught inspiration from the lips of the seraphic Davies.[†] His oratory was simple, majestic and impassioned. It glowed with the peculiar fire of the South. It was of that sort that electrifies an audience, and sways their emotions at will, as the trees of the forest bend before the wind. Now, he rebuked the formalist with stinging sarcasm; now, he

[†] When Henry was a lad, he used to drive his mother in a gig to the places in Hanover where Mr. Davies preached; and, in after life, was in the habit of speaking of the eloquence which he then heard, as closely connected with his own successful efforts. *Memoir, No. III.*

swept away the objections of infidelity with a torrent of scornful argument; now, he portrayed the scenes of sacred story with such vividness and delicacy of touch, that everything seemed, by a startling illusion, to be taking place that very moment; now, he dwelt on the passion of our Lord with such melting pathos, and faltering voice, that his hearers and himself were carried away by an irrepressible gush of feeling; and groans, sobs and shrieks burst from the whole congregation.

Governor Barbour was his enthusiastic admirer, and declared that he surpassed all orators whom he had ever known. Patrick Henry himself pronounced Davies and Waddel the greatest orators of the age. But the most memorable tribute to his genius was that paid by Wirt, in the description of "THE BLIND PREACHER," in his *British Spy*,* which is so familiar to every one, as to require but a bare allusion in this place. In regard to this admirable portraiture, Mr. Wirt was afterwards known to say, that so far from heightening its colors, he had rather fallen below the truth. He hesitated not to express his persuasion that, in a different species of oratory, Waddel was fully equal to Patrick Henry. In him were blended "the poet's hand and prophet's fire."

The next congregation, in time, of which we have any intimation is the neighboring one of ROCKFISH, at the gap and river of the same name. About 1744, the Rev. SAMUEL BLACK was settled here. He had been ordained by the Presbytery of Donegal eight years before, and had been employed in preaching in Pennsylvania. Having sustained the pastoral relation at Rockfish for the long period of twenty-seven years, he died in 1771.†

In 1750, a supplication appears on the Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, from BROWN MEETING-HOUSE, in Augusta, under the North Mountain; and a committee was appointed to visit

* Letters of a British Spy, Lett. VII. Mr. Wirt allowed himself some license in grouping together circumstances of time, place and manner, which he had noticed on various occasions, being well acquainted with Dr. W. and his family. For example, he represented him as preaching in a white linen cap. This was, indeed, a part of his costume at home, but when he went abroad he always wore a full-bottomed white wig. Neither was the name of Dr. Waddel so unknown in Virginia, as the "Spy" intimated. Among a particular class, indeed—the extreme High Church party—who make it a point to know nothing out of their own contracted circle, such ignorance is very conceivable. Memoir, No. III.

† Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 129, 411. Hodge, vol. ii. p. 258. Rockfish was not, indeed, in the Valley, properly speaking, but was on its edge, and settled by the overflow of its population.

them, and regulate their affairs ; but the committee not coming together, nothing was done. It is the same with the present church of HEBRON. It was afterwards divided into two congregations, in the time of the Rev. ARCHIBALD SCOTT, a native of Scotland, who was educated in Princeton College, and studied theology with the Rev. William Graham.* He is said to have been originally a laboring man, and to have pored over his book while his horses were feeding. He afterwards conducted an academy, in Augusta county, of high reputation, at which Dr. Campbell laid the foundation of his accurate scholarship.† Mr. Scott was greatly esteemed in his day. The ministerial character seems hereditary in his family, as a son and grandson of his are both in the sacred office in Virginia.

In 1753, Mr. ALEXANDER MILLER, from the parish of Ardstraw, in Ireland, applied to the Synod to be admitted as a minister. He acknowledged that he had been degraded from the sacred office by every Irish court, up to that of the last resort ; but complained of having been hardly and unjustly treated. The Synod declined receiving him until they should better understand the facts in his case, and warned all their societies not to give him encouragement until his character should be cleared. In 1755, he again appeared before the Synod, and begged them to procure a reconciliation between the Synod of Dungannon, or the Presbytery of Letterkenny, and himself ; and for this purpose, he delivered in writing a penitential acknowledgment, to be transmitted to them ; which was done. The next year a supplication was received from the congregations of COOK'S CREEK and PEEKED MOUNTAIN,‡ (near Harrisonburg,) requesting that Mr. Miller might be received, and installed as their pastor. The Synod ordered, that in case the Synod of Ireland should either send no answer that summer, or inform them of his submission being accepted, Messrs. Black and Craig should receive him as a member, and instal him, provided they should find his conduct in that part of Christ's vineyard such as became a gospel minister. This installation, it is worthy of note, was ordered by a synodical act, and conducted by a committee of Synod. No Presbytery ap-

* Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 196, 198 ; Graham, Letter II., VIII. † Bishop p. 214.

‡ Or, Pecked Mountain, as it is spelled in the Minutes. This is supposed to be the same with *Mossy Creek* congregation.

pears to have been consulted on the occasion. Whether the necessary information failed to reach the committee, or whether further delay was deemed advisable, nothing was done; and the next year, (1757,) on the people of Cook's Creek and Pecked Mountain renewing their supplication, the Synod unanimously received Mr. Miller, and directed Mr. Craig to instal him accordingly, before the first of August ensuing. Mr. Craig was also directed to give him to understand that he ought to be content with the bounds fixed by the committee of installation. This brief intimation seems to foreshadow the possibility of the new member giving trouble.

Eight years afterward, the Presbytery of Hanover, finding crimes of an atrocious nature justly laid to his charge, deposed Mr. Miller from the ministry. After waiting four years he appealed to Synod, and on their declining to reverse the sentence, and requiring the Presbytery and himself to appear before them at their next meeting, (he meantime being suspended from the ministerial office,) he handed in a paper, in which he renounced the authority of the Synod. Hereupon the Synod declared him no longer a member of their body; and forbade all their Presbyteries and congregations to employ him.*

The population of the Valley had increased so rapidly by the middle of the century, as to have far outstripped the supply of the means of grace; and their destitution formed a constant subject of anxiety to both the Synods—that of Philadelphia and that of New York. In the year 1742, in consequence of the earnest entreaty “of several of the back inhabitants of Virginia,” to that effect, the Synod of Philadelphia sent a letter to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and the next year another, laying before them the low and melancholy condition of the infant Church in America, both for want of probationers and ministers in their vacancies and new settlements, and entreating that such might be sent them, and supported in part out of the Assembly's fund for some years. A modest suggestion was added that they would be pleased to furnish the means in some measure, or by some method, of erecting a seminary for educating young men for these ends among themselves. Some gentlemen of influence in Virginia were likewise addressed, and

* Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 209, 217, 222, 224. Min. Syn. N. Y. and Phil. pp. 394, 396.

requested to further the application to the Assembly.* Two years afterward the Synod established a school, and appointed Dr. Francis Alison its master, with a salary of twenty pounds per annum.

For a series of years, (from 1748,) the Synod of Philadelphia annually sent missionaries into the Valley of Virginia; sometimes two, to labor two weeks, three weeks, or three months, each; sometimes three, to spend three months each, in succession; in 1756, John Allison to supply Virginia and North Carolina during the fall and winter; and in 1774, two to labor one year each, in addition to other assistance.† The settled ministers of the Valley were not exempted from their turns. Mr. Craig was several times appointed to such services. In 1751, he was sent to supply ROANOKE, REEDY CREEK, and the SOUTH BRANCH OF THE POTOMAC; in 1752, agreeably to their request, to the contiguous congregations of NORTH AND SOUTH MOUNTAINS, TIMBER GROVE, (which we shall presently meet with again, under the name of TIMBER RIDGE,) NORTH RIVER, COOK'S CREEK, JOHN HINSON'S, and other vacancies; in connection with MESSRS. McCannan and Kinkead. In 1757, we find him sent to BROWN'S, NORTH and SOUTH MOUNTAINS, and CALF-PASTURE settlements, all within convenient reach, with several vacancies in North Carolina; to preach one Sabbath at each of the forementioned places, and to lesser congregations as often as possible.‡

Meantime the rival and energetic Synod of New York was not idle; and thus, though Christ was preached of contention, as in Paul's time, yet every pious heart will rejoice with Paul, that, notwithstanding every way, Christ was preached. In 1743, occurred the never-to-be-forgotten mission of Mr. Robinson, which was attended by so many romantic incidents, and which opened the way for Mr. Davies' subsequent success. Mr. Robinson had been ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick as an Evangelist, for the express purpose of visiting the frontier settlements in Virginia and Carolina. It was while engaged in this work, that one of the inhabitants of Augusta county, going into the lower counties for salt and iron, met some of the attendants

* Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 162, (this was done by the Commission of Synod,) 169.

† Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 191, 192, 194, 196, 198, 204, 209, 210, 214, 219, 460.

‡ Min. Syn. Phil. pp. 198, 204, 225.

upon Mr. Morris' new "Reading-house," and entering into religious conversation with them, found a surprising coincidence of sentiment. Learning that they attended none of the parish churches, because the Gospel was not preached there and there were then no other churches to resort to, he informed them of Mr. Robinson's late acceptable visit, and recommended them to procure his services, which they accordingly did.*

Although the attention of the Synod of New York was principally directed to the new and inviting field opened to them in Hanover, the wants of the Valley were not neglected. But so great was the destitution beyond the power of the Synod to supply, that they wrote to the Eastern Association of Fairfield, in Connecticut, in 1749, requesting them, if possible, to send a minister or ministers to labor in Virginia and Maryland.† Thus we have curiously illustrated the sympathies of the Old and New Side parties. While the Synod of New York wrote to the brethren in New England, the Synod of Philadelphia, as we have seen, supplicated the Kirk of Scotland. The same sympathies were exhibited again in as striking a manner about a century later, by the Old and New Schools.

It is obvious from these statements, that the ecclesiastical bodies then in being, both Synods and Presbyteries, felt a deep and anxious solicitude to extend the blessings of the preached Gospel to the destitute; and through their exertions much missionary labor was performed. The fatigue and exposure endured in the discharge of this duty were very great, and hardly to be appreciated at the present day, when every facility is afforded to travelling, and the mountain recesses of Western Virginia have been converted into fashionable watering-places.

In those early days the missionary was often compelled to scale precipitous heights, to dive into tangled valleys, to ford swollen streams, and to ride in drenching rains. There were occasions, too, when his life was in jeopardy from hostile Indians. In 1756, 1757, and 1758, after Braddock's defeat, the missionaries appointed to the southward, found it impracticable to itinerate, in consequence of "the difficulties and dangers of the times."‡

* Bishop's Mem. of Rice, pp. 32-37. † Min. Syn. N. Y., p. 238.

‡ Min. Syn. N. Y., pp. 271, 279, 282.

As both the Old and New Side missionaries sometimes visited the same congregations, it is not unlikely that they occasionally came into collision with each other.* Just after the Great Schism, there was no small exacerbation of feeling; as appears from the address of the Synod of Philadelphia to Gov. Gooch, on the occasion of Mr. Roan's indiscreet attacks upon the establishment in the lower counties, in 1744. Apprehensive that their congregations in the Valley might be involved in the punishment threatened by the government, the Synod were very forward to clear themselves of all supposable connection with the body, (the New Side Presbytery of Newcastle,) that had commissioned Mr. Roan. The pretenders to "New Light," of whom the governor bitterly complained, as "blaspheming our sacraments, and reviling our excellent liturgy," were described as persons sent abroad by a party whom they had excluded, and whose object was, in a spirit of rivalry, "to divide and trouble the Churches." This elicited a reply from the governor, in which he warmly disclaimed any thought of confounding the fanatical itinerants complained of with men of their education and profession; and assured them that their missionaries, on the exhibition of proper testimonials, should always be sure of his protection.†

The lapse of a few years brought about a more friendly feeling, and smoothed down these asperities. In 1756, when Mr. Alison was sent to Virginia and North Carolina, the Synod of Philadelphia charged him and his fellow-missionaries to promote peace and unity among the societies in public and in private; to avoid whatever might tend to foment divisions and party spirit; and to treat every minister of the Gospel from the Synod of New York, of the like principles and pacific temper, in a brotherly manner. A copy of these instructions was sent to the Synod of New York, in the hope of inducing that body to adopt

* In 1748 the Synod of New York received a supplication for a probationer from Cedar Creek, and a call for Mr. Dean from Timber Ridge; *Min. Syn. N. Y.*, p. 236. Four years after, (in 1752,) we find Mr. Craig and others appointed by the Synod of Philadelphia to visit the very same congregations. *Min. Syn. Phil.* p. 204.

† That Mr. Roan was indiscreet, and indulged in severe denunciations of the established clergy, in a widely different style from Mr. Davies, is admitted in *Morris' Narrative*, *Campbell's Hist.*, p. 297, *Miller's Rodgers*, p. 41. The charge of the governor to the Grand Jury, the Address of the Synod, and the Governor's Reply, may be seen in the printed minutes, *Syn. Phil.* pp. 180, 181, 183.

a similar course.* A reunion took place two years afterward.

In the foregoing sketch of missionary operations, we have met with the congregations of NEW PROVIDENCE, FALLING SPRING, TIMBER RIDGE, (so called from a noble forest of oaks that crowned its summit,) and the FORKS OF JAMES RIVER, as early as 1748; in which year each of them was already in a condition to bear their part in settling a pastor. Falling Spring and New Providence, (which was so called to distinguish it from Providence Church in Louisa, organized by Mr. Davies, and afterwards under the care of Mr. Todd,) invited Mr. Eliab Byram, of New England, a missionary sent to supply them, who saw fit to decline. Timber Ridge and James River invited Mr. Dean, who died a few months afterwards.† In 1753, the Rev. JOHN BROWN, a native of Ireland, and a popular young preacher of the New Side, who had graduated at Nassau Hall, took charge of the united congregations of New Providence and Timber Ridge.‡ About the year 1776, he relinquished the latter, and confined his labors to New Providence alone. Mr. Brown, after having been pastor of New Providence Church for forty-four years,§ and having seen a considerable portion of his flock, as well as several youthful missionaries—whom, in their infancy, he had baptized with his own hand—bending their steps to Kentucky, removed thither himself in the decline of life, in the year 1797.|| He died in 1803, at the age of seventy-five, and his dust reposes in Pisgah graveyard. Of his sons, the Hon. James Brown and the Hon. John Brown rose to distinction in the political world, the former being for some years Minister at the Court of France; the latter, Secretary of State and a United States' Senator; while Dr. Samuel Brown was, at one time, a shining ornament of the Medical department of Transylvania University.

* Min. Syn. Phil. p. 219.

† Min. Syn. N. Y. p. 236.

‡ The call, after the lapse of near a century, is still in existence, being in the possession of his grandson, Orlando Brown, Esq., of Frankfort, Ky. This relic of antiquity is signed by 117 males, many of whose names may now be found perpetuated in Kentucky. It was carried to the Presbytery of Newcastle by Messrs. Andrew Steel and Archibald Alexander as Commissioners; and depicted in lively colors the desolate condition in which they had lain for many years, through the privation of the word and ordinances.

§ Such is the statement upon his tombstone.

|| Marshall's Hist. of Ky. vol. i. p. 316. Rice's Evangel. and Lit. Mag. vol. iv. p. 254.

Each of the two congregations just named erected a commodious church, of stone, in the year 1756. The first thing the settlers did, after putting up temporary cabins to shelter their families, was to build a larger cabin for a place of worship; but when the settlement had somewhat increased, this was superseded by a more substantial and permanent structure. It is interesting to trace the steps of these hardy pioneers in their zeal to secure the decent maintenance of religious ordinances. As in Solomon's time, the congregation distributed themselves into companies; one of which undertook to quarry and haul the stone; another, to furnish the lime and sand, which had to be conveyed in sacks from a distance over bad roads, (and this duty is said to have been undertaken by the women of the congregation;) a third, to furnish the heavy timber, the joists and rafters; a fourth, to supply the plank and shingles; a fifth, to procure imported nails and hinges, which was the most difficult task of all. Thus, by contributing their personal labor, they succeeded in rearing churches, which, for their comparatively ample dimensions, might well be the admiration of the traveller, and which, after the lapse of near a century, stand to this day; unincumbered by those ruinous Church debts, which in our time hang upon so many congregations like an incubus. Money was then an exceedingly scarce article, and deerskins, furs, and butter, were used for barter.*

HALL'S MEETING-HOUSE CONGREGATION† was very extensive, reaching from the foot of the North Mountain nearly to the Blue Ridge. It is this locality which the Synod of Philadelphia supplied in 1752, under the name of the North River Congregation, so called from a small stream running near Lexington. The name is now extinct; the Church of NEW MONMOUTH occupying

* Graham, Lett. II. VIII. Hall's Meeting-House was a large framed building; so were Falling Spring and Highbridge. Oxford was constructed of logs, arranged in the form of a Greek cross, with eight corners; as they could not procure single logs of sufficient length to build a four-cornered house of the size required. Graham, Lett. II. Lexington Church was built, under Mr. Graham's superintendence, of brick. There are now nine, or more, churches in Rockbridge county, all built either of brick or stone, and regularly pewed; some of them spacious. Mr. Graham's influence, in this respect, was very happy. Rice's Mag. vol. iv. p. 262.

† Min. Syn. Phil. p. 204. The name, "Meeting-House Congregation," is sufficiently awkward; but it must be borne in mind that at that time the dignified title of "Church" was monopolized by the established clergy for the parish houses of worship.

the old site, while the south-eastern portion of the congregation constituted the Church of **LEXINGTON**. In 1774, a petition was presented to the Synod from the united congregations of **TIMBER RIDGE** and **HALL'S MEETING-HOUSE**, representing the destitute condition of the Churches in those parts, and earnestly requesting supplies ; especially of candidates who might be likely to settle among them.* The Rev. William Graham, then recently licensed, and a great favorite, was ordained their pastor in 1776. The Rev. John P. Campbell, M.D., who afterwards made a distinguished figure in Kentucky, was chosen his assistant in 1792, and officiated for two or three years, till his removal to the State just named. About 1779, Mr. McConnel, a graduate of Princeton, took charge of the three congregations of **FALLING SPRING**, **OXFORD**, and **HIGHBRIDGE** ; all which Churches still exist under the same names.†

The congregations of **NEW PROVIDENCE**, **TIMBER RIDGE**, **HALL'S MEETING-HOUSE**, **FALLING SPRING**, **OXFORD**, and **HIGHBRIDGE**, (Natural Bridge,) were all situated in Rockbridge county, which was settled somewhat later than Augusta, (being erected into a county in 1777,) and the people were more thoroughly of the New Side. Many of them had participated in the revival of religion under the preaching of Whitefield, the Tennants, and Blair. They were ardent and zealous ; friendly to revivals, and fond of warm, pungent preaching.‡ Owing to this circumstance, and the superior activity and resources of the New York Synod, the majority of the Churches in the Valley, including **OPEQUON** and **CEDAR CREEK**, were attached to the New Side party. The Churches of **AUGUSTA**, **TINKLING SPRING**, **BROWN'S MEETING-HOUSE**,§ **ROCKFISH**, **COOK'S CREEK**, and **PECKED MOUNTAIN**, espoused the Old Side. The last-named Churches were comprehended in the Presbytery of Donegal ; those of the New Side in the Presbyteries of New Castle or Hanover.

At the reunion in 1758, all the ministers in Virginia were comprised in Hanover Presbytery, except Mr. John Hoge, of

* Min. Syn. N. Y. and Phil. p. 454.

† Graham, Lett. II. Min. Syn. N. Y. and Phil. p. 516. † Graham, Lett. II.

‡ In the opinion of Dr. Alexander this was a New Side Church ; but as a supplication from it appears on the minutes of the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia, in 1750, and a committee was appointed to visit them, it is here retained. The congregation were probably divided.

Opequon, who was attached to Donegal. But in 1788, the Old Synod was divided into four, viz : New York and New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas, constituting a General Assembly. The Synod of VIRGINIA was composed of the Presbytery of REDSTONE, in Western Pennsylvania ; the Presbytery of HANOVER, in the lower counties of Virginia ; the Presbytery of LEXINGTON, in the Valley of Virginia, embracing the following twelve ministers: the Rev. John Brown, William Graham, Archibald Scott, James McConnel, Edward Crawford, Benjamin Erwin, John Montgomery, William Wilson, Moses Hoge, John McCue, Samuel Carrick, and Samuel Shannon ; and the Presbytery of TRANSYLVANIA, embracing the new settlements in Kentucky and Cumberland, of which more will be said in another place. The remaining ministers in Western Virginia, the Rev. Charles Cummins, Hezekiah Balch, John Casson, Samuel Doak, and Samuel Houston, were embraced in the Presbytery of ABINGDON, and attached to the Synod of the CAROLINAS.*

The Presbyterians of Virginia, like the rest of their brethren, were marked by an inextinguishable love of liberty, and during the revolution were staunch republicans to a man. At the very first meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover, after the Declaration of Independence, that body addressed a memorial to the Virginia House of Delegates, identifying themselves with the common cause, and urging the establishment of religious as well as civil freedom. It was signed by the Rev. John Todd, Moderator, and Caleb Wallace, Clerk. In 1777, they presented another, draughted by Rev. S. S. Smith, and Rev. David Rice, and signed by Rev. Richard Sankey, Moderator ; and in May, 1784, a third, draughted by Messrs. Smith and Waddel. At this time, the danger being imminent of a general assessment for the support of religion, a scheme which was advocated by Patrick Henry and other popular politicians, a convention was held at Bethel, in Augusta, August 13th, 1785, of Presbyterian ministers and laymen, who prepared an adverse petition, signed by 10,000 persons. The Rev. John Todd was chairman, and Daniel McCalla, clerk. This petition, and a fourth memorial from the Presbytery in October of the same year, were presented to the Legislature by the Rev. John Blair Smith, (whose handwriting the papers show,)

* Assembly's Digest, pp. 38, 53, 54.

who was heard for *three successive days*, at the bar of the House, in support of them.* The main object of all these petitions was, to complain of the partial and peculiar privileges still continued to the Episcopal, late the established church, and its vestrymen; to discountenance a general incorporation of the clergy alone, of other sects as well as of the Episcopalians, and to deprecate the plan of a general assessment for the support of religion. The bill was already engrossed for a third reading, when these strenuous measures arrested further progress, and on the 16th of December, 1785, an act was passed for establishing full religious freedom, the spirit and phraseology of which exhibit a striking coincidence with the tone of the memorials just described.†

Thus it appears, that it is not to Mr. Jefferson, or any other politician, that Virginia is indebted for the religious liberty she enjoys, for if no opposition had been made, extremely pernicious schemes would have been riveted on the people; it was through the firm and untiring exertions of the Presbyterians, in common with the Baptists and other denominations, that the churches were sundered from all connection with the civil power, and placed on an equal footing. The example of Virginia, being found successful in practice, was imitated by Maryland, Delaware, Georgia, the Carolinas, and lastly, Massachusetts; in which latter State, the old Congregational Establishment was not overthrown till 1830. So decided was the influence of the struggle in Virginia, as to procure the perpetual withholding from the Federal Constitution, all power to erect a religious establishment of any kind.‡

Just before the commencement of the revolution, the Presbytery of Hanover felt the necessity of energetic measures for the education of the youth within their bounds. The Presbyterian system is adapted to the successful development of three important elements: Spirituality, because it has nothing to recommend it but simplicity and truth; Liberty, because freedom of discussion, which would be shackled by arbitrary edicts or imparity of

* Rice's *Evang. Mag.* vol. ix. pp. 30, 33, 35, 42, 43. Lang's *Religion and Educ. in Amer.* pp. 94, 115. Baird's *Relig. in Amer.* pp. 109, 110. MS. *Hist. of Hanover Pby.* p. 11. Smyth's *Eccles. Republicanism*, pp. 96—103.

† Rice's *Ev. Mag.* vol. ix. p. 48. Baird, p. 110, where see the act at length.

‡ Smyth's *Eccl. Republ.* pp. 101, 102. A remark of this prolific writer is well worthy of being singled out for remembrance: "The more decidedly," says he, "a man is a Presbyterian, the more decidedly is he a Republican."—p. 103.

rank, is the life of its assemblies ; Knowledge, because intelligence in the laity, and learning in the ministry, are the surest guaranty of mutual rights, and the most efficient means of an extensive Christian influence. Hence it always plants the School beside the Church.

The University of Virginia, to which the freethinking sage of Monticello devoted his last years, had not yet reared its aspiring head.* The College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, was under bigoted Episcopal control, and besides being expensive, was exposed to immoral and deistical influences.† Nassau Hall, at Princeton, in New Jersey, was too remote, and the expense of travelling too heavy, to allow the bulk of the people to derive much benefit from its instructions. The Presbytery, therefore, wisely determined to establish two academies, one in the eastern section of the province, the other in the western. The plan was agitated as early as 1771,‡ but nothing was effected till 1774, when, after considerable opposition from the friends of the establishment, the persevering efforts of the Presbyterian clergy succeeded in establishing the projected academies. One was located in Prince Edward county, to which the republican spirit of the times gave the name of HAMPDEN SIDNEY ; the other, situated in the Valley, was designated by the no less significant title of LIBERTY HALL.

The REV. SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, D.D., was the first President of Hampden Sidney ; a divine, the precocity of whose genius, instead of being succeeded (as is often the case) by as premature anility, proved the precursor of a long and brilliant career.

Upon his removal to Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1779, he was succeeded by his brother, the REV. JOHN BLAIR SMITH, a man of highly polished manners, uncommon conversational powers, an elegant and flowing style, and a highly graceful and fervent delivery.§ It was while he was president, that the remarkable revival of religion occurred, of which we shall presently have

* Mr. Jefferson's deeply-rooted enmity to the Christian religion led him to tax his ingenuity to exclude it from the institution ; but such has been the decided want of public confidence in consequence, that of late years, the professors have defrayed out of their own pockets the expense necessary to secure the services of a chaplain.

† Graham, Lett. IV. ‡ Graham, Lett. IV. § Graham, Lett. VII.

occasion to speak. After him, the chair was successively occupied by Dr. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, in 1797; Dr. MOSES HOGE, in 1807, since deceased, whose patriarchal simplicity and devout spirit, are embalmed in the memory of the Virginia Churches; the Rev. J. P. CUSHING, in 1821; the Rev. Dr. CARROLL, in 1836; the Hon. WM. MAXWELL, LL.D., in 1839; and the Rev. P. J. SPARROW, in 1845, who is the present incumbent. This College, like many others, has had to struggle for existence. It was reared solely by Presbyterian patronage; the only aid for which it has been indebted to the State, being two hundred acres of escheated land, and the proceeds of the sale of a church glebe.* UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY stands in the vicinity.

A single Seminary being deemed inadequate to the growing wants of so extensive a country, another was opened under the patronage of Hanover Presbytery, in what is now Rockbridge county, but was then part of Augusta, in November, 1774. Its location was on Mount Pleasant, a lofty eminence near the site of the present village of Fairfield, and a dozen miles north-east of Lexington; and it was at first called AUGUSTA ACADEMY. Upon the warm recommendation of Dr. Smith, Mr. WILLIAM GRAHAM was appointed the rector, with Mr. John Montgomery, a student of theology, and respectable scholar, as his assistant. Mr. Graham was a native of Pennsylvania, and of Irish parentage. He was born Dec. 19th, 1746, in a frontier settlement, about five miles north of Harrisburg. While a lad, his courage was put to a severe test. The whole family were one night exposed to imminent danger from a large party of Indians who lay in ambush near the house. Suspicion being awakened, the family left the house in the utmost silence, William marching with a loaded gun in front, and his father in the rear, and succeeded in reaching the neighboring fort in safety. His education was such as a country school could furnish, where he learned all that the masters knew. He was naturally of a gay and lively disposition, and immoderately fond of dancing, of the baneful and dissipating influence of which amusement he was afterwards painfully sensible; but about the age of twenty-one, he became, through the

* Bishop's Rice, p. 164. In 1775, the Presbytery appropriated £400 for books and apparatus, and £700 for a College and President's house, in all £1100; and a gentleman gave ninety-eight acres for the use of the school. MS. Hist. of Han. Pby. p. 9.

grace of God, a changed man, and animated with a desire to devote himself to the work of the ministry. Although a late beginner, in five years he completed his classical education, first under Mr. Roan, of Lancaster, and afterwards at Princeton College; earning the means to defray his expenses part of the time, by engaging as an assistant teacher. It was while at Princeton, that he made the valuable acquaintance of Dr. Smith, whose recommendation proved of such signal service to him.

In 1776, the Presbytery, who had shown much interest in the school, and had twice attended the examinations, made the appointment permanent, and as Mr. Graham had now taken charge of Timber Ridge congregation, in connection with Hall's Meeting-House, the Academy was transferred thither, and suitable buildings provided. Its name was now changed, in conformity with the spirit of the times, from Augusta Academy to **LIBERTY HALL**. At the same time the Presbytery chose twenty-four Trustees,* seven of whom should form a quorum; the Presbytery reserving to themselves "the right of visitation forever, as often as they should judge it necessary, and of choosing the rector and his assistants." This appears to have been the last act of the Presbytery in reference to the institution; the war of the Revolution became the absorbing topic for a time,† and in 1782, the Trustees, without consulting the Presbytery, petitioned the Legislature for a charter, which was granted, not to the Presbytery, but to themselves, although they had been originally appointed "to conduct all the concerns of the academy *on behalf of the Presbytery*." So small was the number of students, and so little promise of piety was there among them, that Mr. Graham was often tempted to resign.

But a Heavenly Watcher had said, "Destroy it not, for there

* Their names were as follows, viz: Rev. Messrs. John Brown, James Waddell, Chas. Cummins, William Irvin, and the Rector, *ex officio*; also, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. Wm. Christian, Col. Wm. Fleming, Mr. Thomas Stewart, Mr. Saml. Lyle, Col. John Bowyer, Mr. John Gratton, Col. Wm. Preston, Mr. Sampson Mathews, Major Saml. M'Dowell, Mr. Wm. M'Pheeters, Capt. Alexander Stewart, Capt. Wm. M'Kee, Mr. John Houston, Mr. Charles Campbell, Capt. George Moffat, Mr. Wm. Ward, and Capt. John Lewis. Graham, Lett. IV.

† Mr. Graham, with the entire body of the Presbyterian clergy, cordially espoused the cause of his country, nor was his patriotism confined to empty profession. On one occasion he was chosen to the command of a company, but was never called to the field.

is a blessing in it!" and, as the lingering of Jesus made the miraculous resuscitation of Lazarus only the more notable, so the delay of gracious influences rendered the returning dawn brighter and sweeter, in contrast with the long and dreary night that preceded. Between the years 1786 and 1788,* a remarkable revival of religion occurred in the two colleges, which resulted in the conversion of a number of promising young students, and, by their means, in an extensive awakening, both in Eastern and Western Virginia; nothing like which had been witnessed since the times of Whitefield and Davies. The leading incidents in this interesting work of grace are here recorded, as gathered from the lips of venerable men who were once prominent actors in those scenes.

Hampden Sidney, although under the care of the Rev. John Blair Smith, a pious and excellent man, exhibited a spectacle akin to that existing in Liberty Hall, and too often witnessed in academic groves, an engrossing interest in literature to the neglect of religion. At the time of Dr. Blythe's matriculation, there was not another student within the walls, besides himself, who professed religion; and even he, yielding to the popular current, was at no special pains to divulge the fact unnecessarily. On his arrival, he was recommended to Cary H. Allen as one of the steadiest youths in College. Taking a stroll together, shortly after, they entered the store of a merchant with whom Allen was familiar. Allen, who was always full of exuberant glee, after some chat, was requested to burlesque a Methodist sermon. Mounting the counter, he did this in such a comical and ludicrous manner, that his auditors were convulsed with laughter. His poor companion augured badly, from this initiatory specimen, as to what he had to expect. It was not many days afterward that a party sallied forth to attend a Methodist meeting in the neighborhood, promising themselves rare sport. But, strange to relate, among the very first who were seized with pungent convictions of sin, was the wild, witty, dashing, Cary Allen. On his return to College, his social disposition forbade him to hide his feelings within his own bosom, and very soon several of his companions were found to be as serious as himself. Blythe, no longer hesitating to avow his religious character,

* Douglass' Hist. of Briary Church, p. 5.

naturally became the centre round which the little group collected, and in his chamber they assembled to hold a meeting for prayer. William Calhoun, Clement Reed, Cary Allen, and William Hill, with James Blythe, formed the little band. They locked the door, and commenced praying and singing ; but the moment the unusual sound was heard, the whole college flocked to the spot and made a hideous uproar, mingled with oaths and ribaldry. The president was absent at the time, but on his arrival for evening prayer, learning the posture of affairs, he took the opportunity pointedly to rebuke the rioters, and to express his unfeigned delight at the intelligence of any religious feeling in the institution. He invited the young men into his study, and there prayed with them, and gave them instruction and encouragement ; and every Sabbath evening thenceforth, met them in his own house for devotional exercises.

From that time the seriousness spread, until, out of eighty students, nearly half the number were touched with compunction for their sins. Their prayer meetings were marked with deep, silent, solemn feeling, and the absence of all noise and extravagance. The President took a lively interest in promoting the revival, and whenever he could gather his young friends around him, he embraced the opportunity to communicate instruction. Often the trunk of an old tree, fallen in the woods, served him for a pulpit, while they eagerly clustered round, and hung upon the lips of their revered preceptor. He himself seemed to preach with new life. Two hundred and twenty-five persons, chiefly young people, were added to the churches which he served, in the space of eighteen months. The revival extended over Prince Edward, Cumberland, Charlotte, and Bedford counties, to the Peaks of Otter.*

As the fruits of this revival, a number of the new converts turned their attention to the ministry. Among them were NASH

* See an interesting letter from John Blair Smith, and another from Robert, his father, giving an account of this work, in the *Presbyterian*, vol. xv. p. 154. The latter declared that he had seen " nothing equal to it for extensive spread, power, and spiritual glory, since the years '40 and '41. The blessed work has spread among people of every description, high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, orthodox and heterodox, sober and rude, white and black, young and old ; especially the youth, whom it seems to have seized generally."

LEGRAND, CARY ALLEN, DRURY LACY,* WILLIAM WILLIAMSON, WILLIAM CALHOON, and WILLIAM HILL.

Mr. Graham, stimulated by the interesting intelligence, and urged by his friend, Mr. Smith, to come to his help, travelled a hundred miles to attend a three-days' meeting at Briary Church, in Prince Edward, and afterwards a meeting in Bedford, in order to witness the remarkable work of grace with his own eyes. He was accompanied by two of his pupils, Samuel Willson and Archibald Alexander. They remained a fortnight among those delightful scenes, and, on their return, communicated the flame they themselves had caught, and kindled up a pious fervor through Rockbridge. Nash Legrand, a young licentiate, and a solemn and impressive preacher, lent his aid, and a revival immediately commenced in the Valley. Its influence extended as far as Augusta, but was most powerful in Hall's and Timber Ridge congregations. There were five young men who were subjects of the revival, who turned their attention to the ministry, two of whom died early. The three survivors, ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, BENJAMIN GRIGSBY, and MATTHEW LYLE, were all licensed about the same time. J. P. CAMPBELL, RAMSEY, THOMAS POAGE, ROBERT STUART, &c., followed.

Mr. Graham no longer talked of resigning. His heart and

* MR. LACY proved an invaluable aid to the President. He was admirably fitted to address the large assemblies that were then in the habit of collecting together. His voice was as loud as a trumpet, but not harsh nor unpleasant. His enunciation was distinct, and he could be heard with ease, from a stand in the woods, by three or four thousand people, in the open air. He was of Norman French extraction; the name being originally De Lacy. He was born in Chesterfield county in 1757. He was engaged in teaching, both before and after his conversion. He was successively a tutor in the college, then professor of languages, and acted as Vice President for some years, after the resignation of John Blair Smith. He had charge, as colleague of Dr. Alexander, of the Cumberland congregation, which included the college, and was much beloved by his people. He was a laborious pastor, and very successful, especially among the negroes, numbers of whom were converted. He seldom wrote his sermons, but preached extemporaneously, with great earnestness and affection of manner. His left arm had been shattered by the bursting of a gun, and the amputated stump was covered with a cap of silver, from which circumstance he went by the sobriquet of "Old Silverfist." It is said that upon one occasion his raising the mutilated limb, when telling the story of Amyntas, produced a deep impression on a wild young lawyer. Two of his five children became ministers, and all members of the Church. He died Dec. 6th, 1815, in the 58th year of his age.

his hands were full. A number of promising young men, in various stages of their studies, with some who had just graduated and had been looking to the Bar as the road to honor and emolument, made up their minds to relinquish the flattering prospects of ambition, for the sweeter pleasure of winning souls to Christ. Mr. Graham willingly consented to superintend their theological studies. In 1791, the Synod of Virginia, recently constituted, felt the propriety of making some provision for the training of the thirty or forty young men in the two literary institutions, who had an eye to the ministry. They proposed to establish three theological seminaries, one under the patronage of the Presbytery of Redstone, in Western Pennsylvania; another in Kentucky, under the patronage of the Presbytery of Transylvania; and a third in Virginia. Of the latter Mr. Graham was appointed Professor, and the location being left to his option, he decided in favor of Liberty Hall.

A Theological department being now added to Liberty Hall, the Trustees proceeded with great spirit to erect a commodious stone building and refectory, which were opened for the reception of students in January, 1794. At the same time they raised the price of tuition from forty to fifty shillings per session, which was equivalent to about sixteen dollars and a half per annum. The College was never in a more flourishing condition. A Committee of the Synod attended the public examinations. The course of instruction was solid, and some of the students were pious. But it was found difficult to avoid the accusation of sectarianism, except by the sacrifice of efficiency; and there were not wanting persons who clamored against the connection as a violation of the charter,* and of the intentions of some of the donors. The Synod, in consequence, gradually and quietly permitted it to drop. Another and perhaps the true reason may be assigned for their abated interest; that is, the retirement of their Professor in 1796. Mr. Graham had devoted twenty-two of the best years of his life to rear up a seminary in the Valley, and had conducted it, after repeated discouragements, to a state of solid and permanent prosperity. While thus engaged, he had

* It is probable that during the revolutionary troubles, the Presbytery ceased to take any interest in the school, and that when the Charter was obtained in 1782 it was not supposed necessary to consult them or to recognize any right of interference.

received little or no compensation, and had often been straitened for even the necessities of life. At fifty years of age, he felt unequal to further fatigue, and compelled to make some provision for the future. He purchased a large tract of land on the Ohio, but became involved in vexatious lawsuits, and was reduced to penury. He died of pleurisy, on a visit to Richmond, on the 8th of June, 1799.

Mr. Graham was not in the habit of wielding the pen, or of reading many books; but he was a nervous and independent thinker. His mind was logical, and his passion was perspicuity. Kaimes and Butler were his favorite authors. He was distinguished for the depth and boldness of his investigations, and loved to examine every subject for himself. He confessed that the chief advantage he derived from books was from the table of contents, which suggested to his mind matter for thought. He was fond of metaphysical studies, and his familiarity with them gave him, like Edwards, an astonishing skill in tracing the various windings of the human heart, in connection with Christian experience. As a preacher, he was at once argumentative and impressive; but it was as a teacher that his excellence was most apparent. His lectures were fascinating, from their originality and ingenuity; while his penetrating eye, and his power of sarcasm, kept the most unruly in awe. He was a man who left his impression upon the age he lived in; and the happy influence of his character and instructions is visible to the present day.*

A benefaction of General Washington is worthy of special notice. The Assembly of Virginia, in 1784, subscribed for 100 shares of James River Canal Stock, (worth, at \$200 a share, \$20,000,) which they presented to General Washington, as a testimonial of their gratitude for his public services. This he refused to accept, save on condition of being permitted to appropriate it to some literary institution in the upper country; and the choice being referred to himself, he decided, in 1796, in favor of Liberty Hall Academy; "for," said he, "the past exertions of the friends of Liberty Hall I consider a guarantee, that if the

* Graham, Lett. IV. V. VI.; Campbell's Hist. of Virg. pp. 304-306; Memoir, Rice's Mag. vol. iv. pp. 75, 150, 253, 397; Stuart's Reminiscences, No. I. West. Presb. Herald, April 6, 1837. For some of the incidents connected with Hampden Sidney College, and the revival, the author is indebted to Dr. Alexander, Mr. Stuart and Dr. Blythe; to the latter, particularly, for the anecdote of Cary Allen and himself.

funds at my disposal are placed in their power, they will make a proper use of them.”* The stock was for a long time unproductive, but about the time of the donation began to yield a moderate dividend. The Assembly afterwards saw proper to take back the charter, on the plea of forfeiture, but agreed to pay the stockholders 15 per cent. forever. The college, accordingly, receives from this source \$3,000 per annum. As an acknowledgment of General Washington’s munificence, the institution assumed, in 1812, the name of WASHINGTON COLLEGE.†

In addition to this donation, John Robinson, a soldier of the Revolution, having no near kinsman in the United States, and emulating the example of his beloved chief, bequeathed to the college the whole of his handsome property, estimated at \$50,000; from which sufficient has been realized to found the Robinson professorship.‡

Mr. Graham was succeeded in the Presidency by the Rev. Dr. GEORGE A. BAXTER, who was again succeeded, in 1827, by LOUIS MARSHALL, M.D., of Kentucky, brother of the chief justice. Professor HENRY VETHAKE was called to the chair in 1835; and in 1837, the Rev. HENRY RUFFNER, D.D., who still occupies the post, and whose interesting manuscript history of the institution, it is hoped, will be permitted ere long to see the light.

The Synod of Virginia finding a noble company of between thirty and forty youthful champions, of fine talents and acquirements, panting for active service, determined to take advantage of the golden opportunity. Accordingly, on the 24th of October, 1789, they appointed “A COMMITTEE OF SYNOD FOR MISSIONS,” consisting of four ministers and four elders: any two ministers and any two elders of whom might be a quorum, with a treasurer

* Various places in the upper country competed for the donation. Mr. Graham, with the approbation of the trustees, forwarded a memorial in behalf of Liberty Hall, giving a sketch of its history, accompanied with a map, showing its central position. *Rice’s Mag.* vol. iv. p. 402.

† It is delightful to notice the repeated instances of General Washington’s large-souled liberality, and the heartfelt interest he took in the promotion of literature. At the same time that the James river stock was voted, he was presented by the Assembly with 50 shares in the Potomac Navigation Company, (worth, at \$100 a share, \$20,000,) which he afterwards appropriated to a school in Alexandria, in the District of Columbia. *Graham, Lett. V.* It will be seen, in a subsequent chapter of this work, that when Dr. Blythe waited on him at the seat of government, in 1792, in behalf of Kentucky Academy, he expressed an anxious solicitude for the cause of education, and subscribed \$100 to the object, out of his own private purse.

‡ *Graham, Lett. V.*

to receive and disburse funds. The Rev. Messrs. Graham, Scott, Smith and Mitchell, and ruling elders Charles Allen, Benjamin Rice, John Wilson and John Lyle, were appointed on "the Commission," and William Alexander, of Lexington, was chosen treasurer. The Commission held their first meeting at Libertytown, Bedford county, April 2, 1790: Mr. Scott was the only absentee. Mr. Mitchell was elected Moderator, and Mr. Graham, Clerk. They divided the Synod into four districts, to correspond with the presbyteries; and agreed to assign as the pay of a missionary, £60 per annum, Virginia currency, in half-yearly payments. Nash Legrand, a probationer of Hanover, being personally known to the members, was unanimously chosen the first missionary of the Synod.* The appropriation was afterwards restricted to forty shillings a month, Virginia currency, equal to \$6 66. The funds were supplied by the voluntary contributions of the people. A term of two years' service was expected; and the missionaries were required to keep journals, and report in person at each annual meeting of the Synod.

These meetings were anticipated by the people, with the deepest interest. From all parts of the land they came up as to a solemn festival. There met the reverend fathers of the Synod; there met hoary-headed sires; there met the young sons of the Church; and it was an affecting spectacle to witness the tender and fraternal union that bound heart to heart, as they all gathered round the sacramental board. And as one after another of the young missionaries rose in his place, and told of his toils and difficulties and success, the tear of sympathy coursed down many a patriarchal cheek, and many an aspiration went up for Heaven's choicest blessings to rest upon them. These seasons were regarded as eminently profitable and precious; they tended greatly to animate and encourage the Church, to fan the spirit of piety into a constant flame, and to keep up such a pleasant and social interest in religion, as to resemble an antepast of heaven.

The benefits resulting from those Home Missionary tours, under the supervision of the Synod, were of incalculable value. Previous to the year 1788, the demoralizing effects of war, and the pernicious influence of infidelity, introduced through connection with the French, had cast a blight over the land, and cor-

* MS. Extract of the Minutes of the Synod of Virginia, signed by William Graham, stated Clerk, among the filed papers of Transylvania Presbytery.

rupted the habits of the rising generation. The few pulpits in Virginia were occupied by men superannuated, or past the prime of life; and the spectacle of a young man abandoning the more lucrative and popular professions for the ministry, was rarely or never seen, and would have excited universal astonishment. It was at this gloomy juncture, when the Church lay humbled in the dust, that He "with whom it is nothing to help, whether with many or with them that have no power," graciously interposed, and by his Divine Spirit brought about a sudden and joyful transformation. The remarkable work of grace, in which so many young men were led to devote themselves as heralds of the cross, was, by their means, perpetuated and extended. Brighter prospects dawned upon Zion; Churches gasping for existence were resuscitated, new congregations started into being, and the progress of infidelity and immorality received a signal check. The salutary effects are still apparent. Many of the now flourishing Churches in the lower counties owe their origin to this epoch; while there is scarce a romantic dell embosomed among the huge mountain ranges, however unpromising its religious aspect may formerly have been, whose echoes are not regularly waked by the voice of hallowed praise upon the Sabbath day.*

A few of these devoted servants of Christ found their way into Kentucky, to narrate whose adventures shall be the labor of a subsequent chapter. Here must be brought to a close our sketch of the Churches in the Valley of Virginia. We have traced their progress from the earliest notice of their settlement, in 1719, along the advancing century, to its close. By the good hand of their God upon them, they made the wilderness literally, as well as metaphorically, blossom as the rose. The promise was amply verified, "Them that honor me, will I honor." From the first day that the axe rang through those mountain solitudes, the wily savage receded before them; and smiling farms, capacious churches, and flourishing villages, gradually covered hill and dale. The persecution of lordly prelates, that had chased them into the wilderness, followed them no farther.

* This sketch of early missions is derived from the graphic description of one who was himself a subject of the revival, and who was employed in the field, the Rev. Robert Stuart. He still survives; and we shall meet his name again in the history of the Kentucky Churches. See Stuart's *Reminiscences*; No. 1 West Presb. Her., April 6, 1837.

In quiet and obscurity they gathered strength, until their voice rose to be potential in the land ; prince and prelate were stripped of their authority : and the rolling tide of colonization, fraught with blessings, dashed its spray over the Appalachian range and pervaded the boundless West.

In this sequestered Valley literature and religion flourished hand in hand ; and posterity will love to associate with its peaceful retreats the honored names of a WADDEL, famed for matchless eloquence ; a GRAHAM, skilled in training up advocates for Christ ; a SPEECE, accomplished in various learning ; a HOGE, esteemed for his sweet and apostolic piety ; a CAMPBELL, brilliant and adroit in polemical tactics ; and an ALEXANDER, versed in the intricate lore of the human heart.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY.—INTRODUCTION OF PRESBYTERIANISM.—MR. RICE AND HIS LABORS.

ABOUT the middle of the last century, when Kentucky was yet a wilderness, untrodden by the foot of the white man, and the Blue Ridge was still regarded as the western frontier of the Ancient Dominion,* (notwithstanding the expedition of Governor Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe,†) the French, with characteristic alertness, were busily securing the Valley of the Mississippi by a chain of forts from the Canadas to Louisiana. Their missionaries and traders, in frail birch canoes, had pushed their discoveries from the mouth of the Father of Waters to the Falls of St. Anthony, adapting themselves with wonderful versatility to every change of circumstances, and conciliating the various Indian tribes with whom they came in contact. But while the subjects of the Grand Monarque were coveting with eagerness the wide and fertile region beyond the Alleghanies, England and her colonies seem to have been singularly ignorant of its vast extent and resources. They took up arms, not so much to secure a rich and valuable territory, as to prevent the proximity of dangerous neighbors. At the very period when war was raging, and Braddock was on his disastrous march to Fort Du Quesne, Kentucky and all the charming region of the Ohio, although defended with great pertinacity, appear to have been unknown except to a few Indian-traders and hunters who had penetrated above the Cum-

* "So late as the year 1756, the Blue Ridge was the north-western frontier." Marshall's *Washington*, vol. i. p. 15.

† For an amusing account of this expedition, and the establishment of the *Tramontane* order, with the decoration of a golden horse-shoe studded with precious stones, as an inducement to gentlemen to make discoveries and new settlements, see Hall's *Sketches of the West*, vol. i. p. 185.

berland Gap, and had viewed with delight the landscape that stretched away toward the setting sun like an undulating sea of verdure.*

A rude map, constructed by Lewis Evans in 1752, seems to have given the first definite idea of this region,† and, together with the reports that were circulated, inspired curiosity. Several exploring parties visited Kentucky, among whom the McAfees were prominent in 1773; but no permanent settlement was effected till April 1st, 1775, when Daniel Boone erected the fort of Boonesborough, consisting of a stockade with blockhouses at the four corners of the enclosure.‡ Forts were also erected at Harrod's Town, Boiling Spring, and St. Asaph's; and the proprietors called a Convention of Delegates from these settlements in the month of May following, to form a colonial government. The house was organized by the election of Col. Thomas Slaughter, as Chairman; Mathew Jewett, Clerk; Rev. John Lythe, Chaplain, and Robert McAfee, Sergeant-at-arms. Col. Henderson then opened the Convention with a speech, in the name of the Proprietors. The growing dissatisfaction of the community with this scheme, the establishment of the national independence, and the jealousy of the Virginia Assembly, ere long put a stop to the experiment. The company were obliged to relinquish their title in 1781, but were indemnified by the grant of a large tract of 200,000 acres, or twelve miles square, between the forks of the Ohio and Green rivers, at present included in the county of Henderson, which was so called from the man who was the life and soul of the enterprise. North Carolina granted them a like quantity of land in Powell's Valley. Thus ended, after six year's duration, this splendid essay at a Proprietary government, in which we may well admire the enterprise of its author, the grandeur of the plan, and the wisdom of its execution.§

* Imlay's Topograph. Descr. of the West. Terr. p. 5.

† Winterbotham, vol. i. p. 170.

‡ Hall, vol. i. pp. 239, 240, 241. Boone's Narrative dictated to Filson, Imlay, p. 343.

§ For a fuller biography of this strong-minded and self-taught man, Colonel Henderson, see *Snyth's Tour*, vol. i. p. 124. Imlay, pp. 7, 309. Hall, vol. i. pp. 250—278, ii. pp. 221—276. Marshall's *Hist. of Ky.* vol. i. p. 13; and *Notices of the Early Settlement of Kentucky*, by the author of this history, pp. 97—102,

While these transactions were taking place on the south side of the Kentucky river, Frankfort, Louisville, and Lexington, were rising into existence on the northern side. The momentous battle which gave a name to the latter, was fought in Massachusetts on the 19th of April, 1775. A party of hunters—so runs the current tradition—had kindled their evening fire, and were seated on their buffalo robes around its cheerful blaze, deliberating, as may be supposed, upon the name by which they should designate the newly-selected site, when the news arrived. In the enthusiasm of the moment, the spot was named Lexington by acclamation, to commemorate the important event. Lexington thrived rapidly, and rose to be, for a considerable time, the metropolis of the West.*

The first explorers of Kentucky spread everywhere, on their return, the most glowing accounts of what they had seen. The luxuriance of the soil; the salubrity of the climate; the dimpled and undulating face of the country; the tall waving cane and native clover; the magnificent groves of sugar-tree and walnut; the countless herds of buffalo and elk; the pure and limpid brooks; the deeply-channelled rivers, sweeping between precipitous limestone cliffs, several hundred feet in height; the verdure of the vegetation; the air loaded with fragrance; the groves resonant with melody; and the various charms peculiar to the spring; all conspired to invest the newly discovered region with an air of romance, that seemed to realize the dreams of the poets. Nature has, indeed, been lavish of her gifts to this favorite spot; and, although the buffalo has long since disap-

* Flint's Hist. and Geogr. of the Mississippi Valley, vol. i. p. 353. It is not the business of the present historian to adjust conflicting disputes about civil dates or the priority of this or that settlement. The fort of Boonesborough was erected April 1st, 1775; Harrodsburg was laid out in lots and three or four cabins built in June, 1774, but forsaken on account of Indian assaults till March, 15th, 1775; the survey of Frankfort was made by Robert McAfee, July 16th, 1773, but not settled till some years afterwards; Louisville was first visited by Capt. Bullitt, July 12th, 1773, but no permanent settlement was made till late in 1778, under Col. Clark, who erected a fort; after which it became a principal point of landing; Lexington was laid off about May or June, 1775. But there was a French village built during the French war, perhaps about 1753, opposite the mouth of the Scioto. It consisted of nineteen or twenty good log cabins, with clapboard roofs, doors, windows, chimneys, and some cleared ground. It was passed by Captain Bullitt and the McAfee company on their way, June 11th, 1773; but there is no evidence of these French settlers having ever penetrated into the interior. See McAfee's Sketches, No. I. Frankfort Commonwealth, June 1st, 1841.

peared, and the face of the country, reclaimed from a state of nature, exhibits fewer of those wild features which made it so picturesque, the traveller still pauses to offer the tribute of his admiration.

Upon Boone the view burst with the suddenness and splendor of enchantment. After a dreary route through the wilderness, he descried, from an eminence near Red river, clothed in all the loveliness of spring, that extensive champaign country in the very heart of Kentucky, on the border of which he was then standing; and which constitutes a body of land, if the united testimony of travellers may be credited, among the finest and most agreeable in the world; contrasted with the sterile soil of North Carolina, which he had just left, it appeared, to use his own words, a second paradise.* The soberest historians are betrayed into hyperbole when speaking of this region, and style it a great natural park, the Eden of the red man.†

Fired by the descriptions given of this delightful country, crowds began to flock thither from every quarter. The rush was unexampled. Besides the inviting character of the new Hesperia, the easy terms on which land could be procured gave an additional stimulus to emigration. The Virginia patents were of three classes: pre-emption rights, military grants, and warrants from the land-office. The last were issued with inconsiderate profuseness; and, although most of the valuable land was already taken up by the holders of the other patents, more warrants were, in a short time, issued, as Captain Imlay, himself a land commissioner, assures us, than would have covered half the territory within the limits of the district.‡ The natural consequence was land-jobbing, litigation, long heart-burnings between families, and the retardation of agriculture for thirty years in the adjustment of conflicting claims.§ Tempting Plots were circulated, elegantly embellished with fine groves, meadows, and imaginary mill-seats. Towns were laid off with all the formal

* Boone's Narr. Imlay, pp. 338, 341, 343.

† Butler, p. 90. Imlay, Filson, and Smyth, among the earlier, and Flint, Hall, De la Vigne, Martineau, and Murray, among the later writers, employ language scarcely less glowing than Boone; and seem to vie with each other in searching for terms sufficiently eulogistic.

‡ Imlay, p. 8.

§ Hon. Chilton Allen's address before the State Agricultural Society, Observer and Reporter, 1838. Butler, p. 138.

pomp of streets, squares, and public buildings; some of which, unfortunately for the speculators in the lots, exist to this day only on paper.*

In spite of danger, distance, fatigue, and all the discomforts incident to a new country, the tide continued to flow without an ebb.† Originally, a part of Fincastle county, Virginia, Kentucky was set off as a separate *county*, with a municipal court, in 1776; as a *district*, in 1780, embracing three counties, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Fayette; and, finally, she took her place as a sovereign *State*, and a member of the Union, June 1st, 1792; only seventeen years from the first stroke of the pick-axe upon the soil.‡

This extraordinary influx did not take place without opposition. Kentucky, inhabited by none of the Indian tribes, and exhibiting no traces of their villages, had been regarded as the common hunting-ground and battle-ground of all. Here the Cherokee of the South, and the Miami of the North, resorted to pursue the chase; and often the buffalo visited the salt-lick in safety, and the elk leaped upon the mountain, while the painted warriors expended their ferocity upon each other. The name, *Can-tuck-kee*, pronounced with a strong emphasis, is said to owe its origin to the country having been the arena of frequent conflicts; being interpreted by some to mean, *The Middle Ground*, but most commonly, *The Dark and Bloody Ground*.§ Although the entire territory was over and over again purchased of the Indian tribes, and their title completely extinguished,|| the forewarning of the Cherokee chief to Boone, at Watauga, was amply verified, when he said, as he took him by the hand, "Brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it."¶ Not a solitary wigwam was ever burned on the soil, not a single red man expatriated by the negotiations; but the savages were incensed at seeing their beautiful hunting-grounds occupied by strangers; and nothing vexed them more than the erection of buildings. They made

* Imlay, p. 9.

† Marshall, vol. ii. p. 332.

‡ Butler, pp. 89, 118, 211.

§ Butler, pp. 9, 132. Filson, in Imlay, p. 308.

|| Imlay, p. 6; Hall, vol. i. p. 247; Filson, p. 309.

¶ Imlay, p. 358.

perpetual inroads, and were expelled only after repeated and desperate struggles; and no border annals teem with more thrilling incidents and heroic exploits, than those of the Kentucky Hunters.* Their very name at length struck terror into the heart of the stoutest savage. Well did the soil earn the emphatic title by which it has been designated. And it may be added, as if the propensity was engendered by the climate, it has not unfrequently since been characteristic of Kentucky, to be the arena of personal, political, and ecclesiastical conflicts, more severely contested and more intensely exciting, than any other part of the Union has witnessed. To Kentucky may be applied what was said of Pontus, "*Omne quod flat Aquilo est.*" It is, consequently, rich in materials for history.

Seldom has a country been peopled under circumstances so auspicious to the formation of a bold, independent, magnanimous, homogeneous character. With the exception of an inconsiderable number from North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other quarters, the great body of the settlers was furnished by Virginia. It was but the Old Dominion expanded. They cherished the feelings and the name of Virginians; and to this day a frank hospitality, a manly bearing, and an irrepressible love of adventure, unequivocally indicate their parentage, especially in the rural districts. The military grants brought a number of gallant officers to Kentucky, who had served in the war of the Revolution, many of whom were in easy circumstances, and whose superior education and intelligence naturally caused them to be looked up to as leaders and models; and their influence, with the early introduction of female society, gave tone to the manners of the rising community, and polished the rudeness of the hunter-state.† The stirring nature of the times; the free discussion of political questions; the frequent conventions; and the being left to fight their own battles and mould their own institutions without interference or co-operation from other quarters; generated an acuteness of intellect and a habit of independent thought, which hesitate not to grapple with any difficulty upon any subject. Hence the predominant character-

* Of these Mr. McClung has collected an interesting volume. See McClung's Sketches.

† Imlay, pp. 168, 170, 321. Flint's Ten Year's Recollections of the Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 63, 71. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 94, 96.

istic of Western mind has come to be a restless activity, that takes no opinion on trust, and brooks no control ; that laughs at caution, and is a stranger to fear. The natural tendency of such a disposition is to rashness on one hand, and caprice on the other ; it is liable to be swayed by impulse rather than principle ; and the excited feelings get the mastery of the cooler judgment.

Scions of a noble stock, reared in the storm, and trained to self-reliance, it is not surprising that their strength of character should give them the ascendancy among the younger colonies of the Great Valley. The men that scaled the Alleghanies were no common men ; they were young, or in the prime of life ; of limited education indeed, but robust, shrewd, and enterprising. Kentucky has been justly styled the Mother of the West. Not only was she the State earliest settled ; her sons have been everywhere foremost ; and from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico, to have been born and reared in Kentucky has ever constituted a recommendation to the highest offices, as potent as the prescriptive claim which birth in Old Spain used to confer in her colonies.* Emphatically may it be said of her, as of Bethlehem Ephratah, out of her have come forth governors to rule the people.† Such is the commanding position of the State, of whose early beginnings we have furnished a hasty retrospect. The seed planted with difficulty and watered with blood, has taken deep root in the prolific soil ; it has shot forth its branches like the goodly cedars, it has filled the whole valley, and the hills are covered by its shadow. Cradled between the Alleghanies on the one hand, and the Rocky Mountains on the other, lies a young giant, sporting in the greatness of his strength, and already putting forth energies the limits of which are absolutely incalculable.

Among the early settlers of Kentucky, the McAFEE COMPANY deserve a distinct notice, not merely because their various adventures and perils are a lively specimen of the extremities to

* Butler, p. 17. Flint's Recoll. p. 73.

† That this is not a mere rhetorical flourish will be evident from a consideration of the number of governors and lieutenant-governors furnished by Kentucky to other States and Territories of the Union, amounting to not less than twenty-one ; to say nothing of other distinguished personages.—See the author's Notices of Kentucky, pp. 141-144.

which the colonists were often reduced, but chiefly on account of their intimate connection with the planting of the Church.*

The first party who left their homes in Botetourt county, in the Valley of Virginia, to explore the western wilds, with a double view to future residence and to distinction as the earliest adventurers, were James, George, and Robert McAfee, James McCoun, senior, and Samuel Adams; all except the last named, who was a mere stripling, heads of families; and all the five men of good character and religious principles. They were firm believers in an overruling Providence; and in that persuasion hesitated not to undertake the long and difficult journey; and their subsequent history will show that they were not disappointed.

They started on the 10th of May, 1773, and descended the Kenawha and Ohio rivers in canoes and a batteau. On their way they fell in with Bullitt, Douglass, and Hancock Taylor, with a number of persons who had served in the French war, going to make surveys of the proclamation-right or military lands granted to the soldiers of that war. Capt. Bullitt left them to visit Chilicothe, where he had a talk with the Shawnees, and was treated with great hospitality; the Indians making no objections to the land being settled, provided the right of hunting on it were reserved to them. After he rejoined the company, they proceeded to the mouth of the Licking, and visited Big Bone Lick,† where the fossil remains of the mammoth were found in great numbers, and which a Delaware Indian, seventy years old, told them had been lying there since he was a boy. At the mouth of the Kentucky river they parted company, Bullitt going on to

* The account which follows has been derived from a valuable manuscript, entitled "The History of the Rise and Progress of the First Settlements on Salt river, and Establishment of the New Providence Church." This volume has been laboriously compiled from original and authentic documents, by General Robert B. McAfee, of Mercer county, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and Author of a History of the Late War. See also Sketches of the First Settlements in Kentucky, No. I., by the same hand, in the Louisville Journal, May 24, 1841.

† In regions so far distant from the sea, we may admire the goodness of Providence in scattering numerous salt springs over the Great Valley, thus furnishing a plentiful supply of an article useful, if not essential to health. These springs were eagerly sought by the buffalo and other animals, who resorted thither in great numbers, and greedily licked the earth impregnated with saline deposits. From this circumstance they derived the name of Licks; of which there is a great variety,—Bigbone Lick, Drennon's Lick, Blue Lick, Paint Lick, Mud Lick, &c.

the Falls of Ohio, where he made surveys of the site of Louisville; while Taylor and the McAfees ascended the river into the interior. At Drennon's Lick they found thousands of buffalo, deer, and elk, together with bears, wolves, eagles and other birds of prey. For miles around the country was bare of grass, and the buffalo tracks were as wide and well-defined as a common highway. Here James McAfee and Adams were in imminent danger of their lives from a herd of five hundred buffaloes becoming alarmed, and rushing in a solid body toward the spot where they stood. Adams had barely time to climb a tree, and McAfee sprang behind another, by pressing closely to which laterally, he escaped being crushed, although the horns of the huge animals grazed the bark on both sides. Following the buffalo track they reached the valley in which Frankfort now stands: where Robert McAfee made a survey of six hundred acres, including the site of the capital.

When they reached Salt river, on the 21st of July, they fixed upon it as their future home, and surveyed several four hundred acre tracts for themselves and friends, cutting down brushwood and deadening timber. The surveys extended above Harrodsburg. On the 31st, the McAfees turned their faces homeward, along the middle fork of the Kentucky river, and across the Cumberland mountain and Powell's Valley. On the way they met Boone with his family, and forty other persons, removing to Kentucky; whose enterprise, however, was frustrated at that time by an attack of the Indians, and the death of Boone's eldest son.

The journey was accomplished under showers of rain, and various hardships. At the foot of the mountains their provisions failed, and game was difficult to procure. The passage across proved a very laborious undertaking, as it was obstructed by laurel, underbrush, and pine. On the 12th of August they had toiled up to the highest point of the craggy range dividing the headwaters of the Kentucky and the Clinch rivers; but it was a region that seemed the abode of desolation. Barren and heated rocks frowned on every side, and silence and solitude reigned uninterrupted. Not a living-creature was to be seen, not a bird cheered them with its wild notes, nor an insect with its painted wing. They were exposed to a broiling sun; their feet were blistered; their legs were torn and raw from the laceration of

the briers; they were literally starving, not having had a mouthful to eat for two days; and, to complete their distress, the springs were all dried up by the excessive heat.

Here was a combination of misfortunes sufficient to appall the stoutest heart. The day was drawing to a close, the sun was sinking in the west, and gilding the mountain crags with his retiring beams, yet they had not seen a solitary animal that could serve for food, and the scanty herbage was unfit for sustenance. Exhausted by fatigue, hunger and despair, George McAfee and young Adams threw themselves on the ground, declaring that they were unable to proceed a step further. As a last desperate effort, Robert McAfee took his rifle and compassed the ridge in quest of game, and had not proceeded a quarter of a mile when a young buck crossed his path; and, although agitated by intense feelings, he was so good a marksman as to bring him down at the first shot. On hearing the report of his gun, the rest of the company, forgetting their fatigue, sprang up, and ran to the spot whence the sound had proceeded. The food thus opportunely furnished, they devoured with keen appetites, and slaked their thirst from a brook which was found adjacent; while their hearts overflowed with gratitude to that Providence which, by so timely an interposition, had rescued them from the jaws of death. Recruited in strength they resumed their journey, and reached their homes in sixteen days from starting; where, in spite of the hardships and hazards attending the exploit, the accounts they published inspired a general enthusiasm to imitate their example.

Indian wars, and the battle of Kenawha, detained them in Virginia during the succeeding year, while Harrod and his party were laying off the town now known as Harrodsburg; but the year 1775 again found them among the cane-brakes. Robert, Samuel, and William McAfee allowed themselves to be persuaded by Col. Henderson to unite their fortunes with his, against the advice of their elder brother, James, who assured them that Henderson's claim could not be valid, being destitute of the sanction of government. They went to Boonesborough, entered land and raised corn, but, as was predicted, the scheme proved abortive. In the fall, the company were reunited, consisting of James, William, George, and Robert McAfee, George McGee, David Adams, John McCoun, and some others;

and, under the protection of Harrod's Station, they planted fifteen acres in corn. A part of them wintered here, while the rest went back to Virginia, leaving forty head of cattle to fatten on the succulent cane and luxuriant herbage.

In May, 1776, the last-mentioned party packed up their household property and farming utensils, with a quantity of seeds of various kinds, barrels of corn and flour, and stores of coffee, sugar and spices, not omitting a few bottles of whiskey and spirits, which they placed for security in the middle of the flour and corn barrels; and attempted to convey them in canoes down the Gauley and Kenawha rivers; but, finding this impracticable, they resolved to go back for pack-horses. Having built a strong log cabin, or *cache*, they deposited in it all their moveables, and, covering it with bark, left it in this situation. The rumor of hostilities caused a delay of several months; and when they returned, in September, they found, to their mortification, the *cache* had been rifled by a runaway convict servant, who had wantonly wasted their most valuable stores, which they had been for years collecting, and could with difficulty replace. The miserable wretch narrowly escaped summary punishment; and, as they were now obliged to return, they carried him along and gave him up to his master, from whom, in all probability, he received such a scourging as made him more desirous to run away than ever.

The war with Great Britain, in which the members of this company and all their connections heartily united, hindered the resumption of their darling project for the next two years; during which time the cattle they had imported ran wild in the woods, or fell the prey of Indian marauders, and were irrecoverably lost. The year 1779 saw these enterprising adventurers settled with their families on their new domain, having passed the Cumberland Gap with pack-horses. Their first care was to fortify themselves in a quadrangular enclosure of cabins and stockades, to which was given the name of *McAfee's Station*.*

* The settlements were called Stations, from the circumstance of being fortified, and thence becoming rallying points: as, Harrod's Station; Wilson's Station; McAfee's Station; Crow's Station (Danville); Haggin's Station (a mile from Cane Run Meeting-House); McGary's Station (near Shakertown); all of which were in Mr. Rice's parish; Bryant's Station (near Lexington); Whitley's Station, &c.

A winter of unexampled severity followed, snow and ice continuing on the ground without a thaw from November to February. Many of the cattle perished, and numbers of wild animals were frozen to death. Sometimes the famished wild animals would come into the yards of the stations, along with the tame cattle. Such was the scarcity of food, that a single johnny-cake was divided into a dozen parts, and distributed among the inmates, to serve for two meals. Even this resource failed, and for weeks they had nothing to subsist on but wild game. Early in the Spring, some of the men went to the Falls, now Louisville, where they gave sixty dollars (continental money) for a bushel of corn; an enormous price, even making allowance for its depreciated value, but the alternative was starvation.

A delightful spring, and the rapid growth of vegetation, repaid them for their hardships. Their peach trees and apple trees were in a thriving condition, and plenty and happiness smiled upon the settlement; when, by one of those unexpected reverses, which seem designed by Providence to admonish us of what we are too apt to forget—the uncertain tenure of earthly prosperity—their flattering prospects were damped, and every heart filled with gloom. Joseph McCoun, a promising lad, the youngest and darling son of his father, and the favorite of the whole family, was surprised and captured by a party of Shawnee Indians, and burned at the stake, on the other side of the Ohio, with excruciating tortures. This event took place in 1781; and, as the Indians were now prowling in every direction, the families, seven in number, abandoned their farms, and took refuge in the station. Safety was not restored till after the successful expedition of GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, in which the men of the Salt river settlement participated. During the period of alarm, on the 9th of May, 1781, a band of one hundred and fifty Shawnees, made a desperate assault on McAfee's Station, at their favorite time, when slumbers are deepest,—an hour before sunrise. A well-directed fire from the beleaguered garrison, consisting of only thirteen men, kept them at bay, the women and children running bullets and supplying them with ammunition. Baffled in their attempt, the savages decamped, destroying all the cattle and hogs within their reach. They were pursued by a reinforcement of forty

men, summoned by express from McGary's Station, and completely routed.*

The insecurity of the settlers was great, and the hazards to which they were exposed were appalling. There was no communication between the stations but by armed companies. The inhabitants did not dare to spend the night out of the forts, and, during the day, cultivated their corn with the hoe in one hand and a gun in the other. But the incursions of the savages gradually diminished from this period, as the country became more thickly settled. The McAfee Station became one of the prominent centres, grist-mills were erected,† improvements of all kinds projected, and uninterrupted prosperity finally crowned the enterprising pioneers.

Although these early settlers were imbued with a sense of religious obligation, and appear to have quitted their homes with a pious trust in Providence, and although, probably, they formed many good resolutions, yet the new circumstances in which they were placed had a very unfavorable effect on their character. Their time was completely taken up with the incessant industry demanded by their necessities; while they contracted roving and unsettled habits from their frequent hunting expeditions, and a fondness for strong excitement from their skirmishes with the Indians. In the intervals of labor, and notwithstanding the constant possibility of danger, (or rather, perhaps, as the history of the human mind evinces, in consequence of it), the people spent their time merrily, and dancing, and other festal amusements, formed the recreations of young and old. These sports they enjoyed with a keen zest, from the confinement in the fort to which they were subjected. Conversation turned naturally on the bold exploits and hair-breadth escapes of noted Indian-fighters; and, from the exigencies of the times, these forest heroes were looked up to as the persons most worthy of estimation. It is not wonderful, therefore, that religion should have a small share in their thoughts and intercourse. The absence of ministers and of Sabbath services, and

* For a full account of this attack, see McClung's Sketches, p. 151.

† Hitherto hand-mills had been in use, of a truly primitive and almost oriental character, consisting of a pair of limestone slabs, about two feet in diameter, which were placed in a hollow sycamore, or gum tree; and every morning each family ground as much as would last them for the day.

being removed from the inspection and discipline of the Church, tended to foster habits of carelessness and irreligion. While catechetical instruction was kept up, the other forms and duties of religion were generally neglected.

At an early period, moreover, an avaricious turn was fostered by the temptation to speculate in the unbounded field that lay invitingly open. The people displayed an avidity to accumulate landed property, and locate extensive farms of the best and choicest quality, resembling that which drew down the fervent rebuke of the prophet, when he denounced a "woe unto them that add house to house, and field to field, till there be no place for them in the earth!"

Providential escapes, occasional deaths, and the dangers that continually threatened them from their savage foes, particularly the misfortune that befell young Joseph McCoun, and the disastrous defeat of the Blue Licks, in August, 1782, which filled all Northern Kentucky with mourning, often made a salutary impression on the mind, and induced serious reflections on their duty towards their Creator; but these impressions were transient and soon effaced.

The year 1783 opened with a prospect of peace with Great Britain, and of comparative quiet from the savages; while the abundance of the products of the soil promised to reward the labors of the husbandman. New settlers poured in by thousands, and the forest and the cane-brake rapidly disappeared beneath the axe and the plough. Among those who were attracted to this Land of Promise, flowing, as was represented, with milk and honey, was the Rev. David Rice, at that time pastor of a congregation at the Peaks of Otter. He came, not with the intention of becoming a resident, but solely with a view to make some provision for his numerous and dependent family; but, being disgusted with the shameless spirit of speculation which was then rife, he returned without purchasing an acre.* In

* Bishop's Memoir of Rice, p. 66. Dr. Spalding, in his Sketches of the early Catholic Missions in Kentucky, p. 83, misrepresents this passage in Mr. Rice's history, in order to indulge a sneer at "married preachers." "It seems," says he, "that he had a large family to provide for, and his removal to Kentucky was prompted more by the desire of securing the good things of this world, than by that of spreading the Gospel. . . . So much for married preachers." This is said in the face of the quotation from Bishop, on which he relies, which states, on the same page, that Mr. Rice did not visit Kentucky "with the view of moving there soon, if ever." "*We mean to be impartial,*" says the Vicar-General!

vain were the broad, rich lands of Kentucky spread in unrivalled beauty before him, in vain did the cheapness of the price tempt him; he valued his peace of mind too much to suspend it on the doubtful risks of inevitable litigation.

During his stay, Mr. Rice preached as opportunity offered,* and his appearance was hailed with joy by the Presbyterian settlers, some of whom had known him personally, and all by reputation. They had learned by their long destitution and silent Sabbaths to appreciate the value of the stated ministry; and, like David in his exile, memory lingered with fond regret upon the lost pleasures of the sanctuary, and the voice of joy and praise. Mr. Rice was warmly pressed to give them the benefit of his pastoral services; but he hesitated to take so important a step on a mere verbal invitation. He promised, however, that if a written invitation were drawn up, signed by such only as were permanent settlers, and really desirous of constituting themselves into a church, he would take it into consideration. In consequence of this encouragement, a paper was conveyed to him towards the close of the summer, with three hundred signatures appended, stating the destitute condition of the country, and entreating him to remove, and plant a Presbyterian Church among them. Mr. Rice laid this petition before Hanover Presbytery, (sitting that year in Hall's Meeting-house,) and requested their advice. The Presbytery recommended his acceptance of the invitation, as opening a wide and effectual door to do good, in the providence of God; and although he had some suspicions that the signers were not all that they professed to be, he concluded that, on the whole, it was his duty to go. He removed to Kentucky in October; but owing to the impassable state of the roads, he was unable to travel, during the winter, beyond the neighborhood of Danville, and preached in private houses, as he was invited. Harrodsburg, at that time, contained few who cared for religious matters.†

On the opening of spring, (1784,) Mr. Rice extended the sphere of his labors, and gathered three large congregations near Har-

* His first sermon was heard by Dr. Joshua A. Wilson, then a child, at Harrod's Station, and was from the text, "The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up." Matt. iv. 16.

† Bishop's Rice, p. 67; Graham, Lett. VIII.; McAfee MS. p. 19.

rod's Station as a central point, Danville, Cane Run, and the Salt river settlement. Houses of worship were put up without delay, and the year following churches were regularly organized in them all.*

FATHER RICE, by which appellation that venerable man is fitly called, who so long acted the part of a father to the infant churches in Kentucky, was born in Hanover county, Virginia, December 20, 1733. His father's family were plain farmers, originally of Welsh extraction. From an early age he was thoughtful and serious, the subject of deep religious impressions, and punctilious in the duties of private and public devotion. He was savingly converted under the preaching of Mr. Davies, and at the age of twenty began to study for the ministry, under Mr. Todd and Dr. Waddel. His father being in straitened circumstances, he procured the means of his education by raising a hogshead of tobacco with his own hands, and afterwards by teaching an English school. His health suffered under the confinement, but he was relieved by a rich relation offering him his board. President Davies having had a sum annually put at his disposal by a wealthy Christian in London, to aid in educating needy young men in this country, he chose Mr. Rice as the beneficiary; but upon his death the supply ceased, and Mr. Rice's wardrobe became so shabby, that he meditated leaving Nassau Hall; when Providence raised him up another friend, in Richard Stockton, Esq., to whom the President had mentioned his circumstances. He called Mr. Rice to him, and said: "I have, in a literal sense, ventured my bread on the waters, having a ship at sea. If it founders, you must repay me the sum I advance you; if it returns safe, I will venture, in the figurative sense." Two years after

* McAfee MS. pp. 23-25; Bishop, p. 147.

It may not be amiss to mention here an extraordinary blunder of Winterbotham. Filson, from whom he quoted, had said: "The Anabaptists were the first that promoted public worship in Kentucky; and the *Presbyterians* have formed three large congregations near Harrod's Station, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their pastor."—Filson, in Imlay, p. 321. But Winterbotham, by an inexcusable carelessness in transcribing, has attributed to the Baptists what his author had said of the Presbyterians: "The Baptists were the first that promoted public worship in this State; they formed three congregations near Harrod's Station, and engaged Mr. David Rice, of Virginia, as their pastor!"—Winterbotham's Hist. View of the United States, vol. iii. p. 169. This error deforms both the London and American editions.

Mr. Rice offered to repay him, but he refused, affirming that he had been repaid long ago.*

He studied theology with the Rev. John Todd, and was ordained by Hanover Presbytery, Dec. 1763,† at the age of thirty, and soon became a popular and successful preacher. After laboring in various fields, he took charge of three congregations in Bedford county, at the foot of the Blue Ridge, in 1769; but at length, in consequence of their great increase, restricted himself to one, at the Peaks of Otter.‡

Of the revolutionary struggle he was not an indifferent spectator, but took a warm and decided stand in favor of his country's independence; nor did he deem it transcending the duties of his profession to harangue the people on their grievances at county meetings. He took an active part, also, in procuring the establishment of Hampden Sidney Academy, in spite of the opposition of the Episcopal clergy; and afterwards of Transylvania Seminary.§

In 1783, he removed to Kentucky, and there organized and took charge of the congregations of Concord at Danville, Cane Run, and the Forks of Dick's river.|| He was chairman for several years of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania Seminary, and its first teacher, while yet a Grammar-School. It was opened in his own house, in Lincoln county, in February, 1785. When the Seminary, after its removal to Lexington, fell under deistical influence, he took an active part in raising up a rival, in Kentucky Academy, and, in company with Dr. Blythe, visited the cities of the East to solicit donations.¶

The estimation in which he was held may be inferred, from his election as a member of the Convention which met at Dan-

* See a letter from his son, Dr. James H. Rice, Aug. 14, 1824, in the *West. Luminary*, vol. i. p. 178.

† MS. Hist. of Hanover Pby., p. 6.

‡ Bishop, pp. 13-64.

§ Bishop, pp. 96, 97.

|| Letter to Mod. of the Gen. Assembly, 1790.

It is worthy of note, that a small district of country upon Dick's river has furnished a number of individuals distinguished in the annals of the State: Col. Joseph H. Daviess, Chief Justice Boyle, Gov. Owsley, T. T. Davis, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel McKee, Gov. Letcher, S. H. Anderson, Judge Green, J. Speed Smith, Chief Justice Robertson, W. J. Graves, &c. For this notice the author is indebted to Col. C. S. Todd, a descendant of the Rev. John Todd, and late Minister to the Court of Russia.

¶ Bishop, p. 97.

ville, in 1792, to frame a State Constitution. He strenuously exerted himself, though without success, against the commanding talents and overwhelming influence of John Breckinridge and Col. Nicholas, for the insertion of an article providing for gradual emancipation, before the settlement of the question should be hampered by insuperable embarrassments. He also published his sentiments in a pamphlet, signed "Philanthropos," and entitled, "Slavery inconsistent with justice and policy."

Although Father Rice devoted some share of his attention to literature and politics, he did not neglect his parochial duties. One of his methods of doing good was the addressing of a circular epistle to his ministerial brethren, holding up the example of Paul for their imitation. The happy result was a refreshing revival, both in his own and other congregations, which lasted for several months. He was very faithful, also, in maintaining regular catechetical instruction. After preaching fifteen years, during which, notwithstanding many drawbacks naturally incident to a new settlement, he witnessed a general improvement in religious knowledge, and an increased attention to the ordinances of God's house, he resigned his charges, and removed to Green county, in 1798. He was now sixty-five years of age, and troubled with an affection of the head, which incapacitated him for close attention to any subject, and subjected him to a habitual melancholy.* There is no doubt that pecuniary difficulties oppressed him, and either produced this melancholy, or co-operated with it. He had purchased land on the faith of his congregation guaranteeing the payment; but this was deferred, until the sons had forgotten the promises of their fathers, and the sheriff held up before his eyes the terror of imprisonment. While in this morbid state he refused, on a certain communion occasion, to administer the sacrament at Danville, on the ground that it was not right to admit to the holy table persons who were unfaithful to their engagements. As may naturally be supposed, a great sensation was the consequence; dissatisfaction vented itself in loud murmurs; he became the song of the drunkard; and pasquinades were affixed to the church door, whose doggerel rhymes are remembered by many to this day.†

* Bishop, p. 77.

† These rhymes were composed by Tom Johnson, a drunken poet, who amused himself and his tipsy companions, in the taverns of Danville, by letting off his

The preceding statement probably furnishes the true explanation of Father Rice's leaving Danville. To a sensitive and generous nature, no trial can be more poignant than to be repaid with ingratitude, or exposed to ridicule. Although Mr. Rice was faithful and assiduous in the discharge of his duties, he was often in great straits, like many others of his brethren, for want of an adequate support; and his family would have been reduced to a crust of bread, had it not been for the seasonable friendship of Mr. Jacob Fishback.* There were not wanting narrow-minded

spleen in doggerel satires, generally of the octosyllabic measure. His effusions were very popular in their day, (perhaps owing to the scarcity of poetic staple :) and the author has heard both the Lines on Mr. Rice, and the Extempore Grace at Gill's Tavern, repeated from memory by more than one person. Johnson published an edition of his poems, in thirty-six pages, 24mo., under the title of "The Kentucky Miscellany." The copy seen by the author, in the Rev. Mr. Seely's collection, bore the imprint of the fourth edition, in 1821. Some of the pieces are sprightly and humorous, but the ribald and blasphemous character of others, proves that poor Johnson "drank full o'er of the tun than of the well;" as indeed he confesses, for hypocrisy was not one of his sins. The pasquinade is as follows. (Misc. p. 20.)

" ON PARSON R — E,

WHO REFUSED TO PERFORM DIVINE SERVICE TILL HIS ARREARS WERE PAID.

" Ye fools! I told you once or twice,
You'd hear no more from canting R — e; }
He cannot settle his affairs, }
Nor pay attention unto pray'rs, }
Unless you pay up your arrears. }
O how he would in pulpit storm,
And fill all hell with dire alarm!
Vengeance pronounce against each vice,
And, more than all, curs'd avarice;
Preach'd money was the root of ill,
Consign'd each rich man unto hell;
But since he finds you will not pay,
Both rich and poor may go that way.
'Tis no more than I expected—
The meeting-house is now neglected:
All trades are subject to this chance,
No longer pipe, no longer dance."

* This fact is related on the authority of James Stonestreet, Esq., his son-in-law. Mr. JACOB FISHBACK was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, April 14th, 1749. At the age of 18, he heard Dr. Waddel in a private house, and was so impressed by his remarkable appearance and earnestness, that he went home a broken-hearted penitent. After a season of deep religious exercises, he obtained a hope, and soon assembled the neighbors, and read, and prayed, and sang with them. He was not, during this period, a communicant, for there were no dissenting places of worship near, and he was reluctant to join the Established Church, as all the clergy were drinking men. This account differs from that of Dr. Bishop, but may be relied on as being derived from his family. In 1783, he removed to Kentucky, first to the Forks of Dick's river, and afterward to a farm in Clarke county. He became one of Mr. Rice's most efficient supporters, and a shining Christian. After his death, a "Solemn Declaration" or covenant was found among his papers, repeatedly re-signed. He died Sept. 15, 1821, in the 73d year of his age. He left eleven children, six sons and five daughters, whose descendants at that time, numbered fifty-eight.—Bishop, pp. 221, 230.

persons, who expected a minister, when placed on a small tract of land, to maintain himself by the labor of his own hands, and who considered themselves absolved from all further obligation to contribute to his support. They never reflected on the thousand calls, absences and interruptions to which a pastor is subjected, to say nothing of the necessity of time for study and pulpit preparation. When the clergy were thus compelled to forsake the study for the field, and the Lord's vineyard for their own farm, the unavoidable consequence was, in Mr. Rice's nervous language, that "the people starved the ministers, and the ministers starved the people."*

Mr. Rice resigned his congregations and removed to Green county, about 1797, after which he withdrew almost entirely from active life and attendance on church courts, and employed himself chiefly in preaching to vacant congregations, and assisting his brethren. It was at his suggestion that catechists and exhorters were introduced in the Green river revival, to supply the great deficiency of a regular minister; the abuse of which, afterwards, none deplored more feelingly than himself. Upon this subject he had a correspondence with the General Assembly.† In 1803 at the Walnut Hill Sacrament, he made a strenuous endeavor to regulate camp-meetings, and prevent scandals. In 1805, and 1806, he performed an extensive missionary tour through Kentucky and Ohio, by the appointment of the General Assembly, to ascertain the religious condition of the country, and to reclaim schismatics. The fruit of his tour was an Epistle to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, published in the same year, and a second Epistle in 1808, in which he gave a plain and faithful warning against the dangerous errors of the times, and held up evangelical truth forcibly to view. For the last three years of his life, he was prevented from preaching and writing, by the gradual decay of nature, but the exercises of his mind were of the most heavenly and edifying character. His last words were, "Oh, when shall I be free from sin and sorrow!" and shortly after, he fell asleep in Jesus, June 18th, 1816, in the 83d year of his age.

* Bishop, p. 110.

† "A number have been exercising their gifts as exhorters, who had scarce a talent for anything but addressing the passions of men."—Second Epistle, 1808. Bishop, p. 353. See also, Assembly's Digest, 1804, p. 148.

Father Rice's talents were of a plain, practical cast; not of a commanding order, but very respectable. His distinguishing characteristic was judgment, and his disposition conservative. He was exemplary in his deportment, and spent much time in prayer. As a preacher, his natural manner was solemn and impressive, but sometimes marred by the apparent affectation of sympathy. In society he was dignified and grave. His person was slender, but tall and active, and even at the age of seventy, he exhibited an astonishing degree of alertness. He married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Blair, by whom he had eleven children, nine of whom became heads of families, and all made a reputable profession of religion. One of the number was converted by means of a Bible which his mother placed among his clothing when leaving the paternal roof.*

His published writings were of the fugitive kind, prepared as occasion demanded them. They are as follows:—1. A Circular Letter to his ministerial brethren on the Example of Paul, date uncertain. 2. An Essay on Baptism, 1789. 3. A Lecture on the Divine Decrees, 1791. 4. Slavery inconsistent with Justice and Policy, 1792. 5. A Sermon at the opening of Synod. 6. An Epistle to the Citizens of Kentucky professing Christianity, especially those that are, or have been, denominated Presbyterians, 1805. 7. A second Epistle of the same nature, 1808. 8. Letters on the Evidences, Nature, and Effects of Christianity, published in the Weekly Recorder, at the age of 81, 1814.†

Previous to Mr. Rice's arrival, marriages had been solemnized by the magistrates, but after that event, the people made it a point to procure the services of a clergyman. On the 3d of June, 1784, he married a couple at M^cAfee's Station, and on the 4th preached the funeral sermon of Mrs. James M^cCoun, sen., the first sermon ever preached on the banks of Salt river. The attention of the people was greatly arrested by this mournful occurrence. After this, Mr. Rice returned to the fort, and spent Saturday, according to his wont, in catechizing such as felt an interest in religious matters. On Sunday, the 6th, he preached in a large double-hewed log-house at the Station. He continued to visit them and preach occasionally. In the fall, the settlement received a valuable accession in Captain John Armstrong and

* Bishop, pp. 57, 60. † Bishop, pp. 76, 113.

John Buchanan, who were favorably inclined to religion, and William Armstrong, who had been one of Mr. Rice's elders in Virginia. In the spring of 1785, James, George, Samuel, and Robert M'Afee, John and William Armstrong, James M'Coun, sen., and James M'Coun, jun., Joseph Lyon, John Buchanan, and John M'Gee, met together and agreed to erect a house for the double purpose of a school and a place of worship, on two acres of land, offered by James M'Afee. It was a log cabin, twenty feet by eighteen. In the course of the year, a church was organized, and called by the appropriate name of NEW PROVIDENCE, in commemoration of the many signal favors and deliverances which they had received from the hand of the Almighty. The first elders elected, were George Buchanan, and James M'Coun, sen., to whom was added William Armstrong, in 1789. Mr. Rice preached here monthly, and catechized at private houses. He was assiduous in the discharge of his duties, but except regular attendance and decorous behavior on the part of the people, little direct fruit was visible from his labors. The departure of many volunteers to join Gen. Clark's expedition on the Wabash, and the exciting political question of severance from Virginia, to be formed into an independent State, distracted public attention from the concerns of the soul.*

For several years after the foundation of the Church, the men were obliged to carry their guns to meeting, as the Indians were in the habit of prowling about, to steal horses and kill stragglers.† This was not an imaginary danger. On the 23d of May, 1790, some people were fired on by Indians, as they were returning from sermon on Brashear's Creek. A man was killed, and a woman carried off, and on being pursued, tomahawked. Judge Innes, writing to Secretary Knox, July 7th, 1790, stated that within seven years, fifteen hundred souls had been killed or taken prisoners, twenty thousand horses carried off, and other property plundered to the value of fifteen thousand pounds.‡

The congregation of New Providence increased so rapidly, that in 1790 a new house, of double the size, was rendered necessary, also built of logs; and in 1803, this was still further enlarged. It was afterwards superseded by a substantial and commodious

* M'Afee MS. Hist. pp. 21, 23, 25. Bishop, pp. 146, 147.

† M'Afee MS. Hist p. 23. ‡ Butler, p. 195.

brick edifice, sixty feet by forty-five. Mr. Rice continued to preach here till 1796, when he was succeeded by the Rev. William Mahon, from Virginia, who, proving unacceptable, only remained two years. In 1801, the Rev. Samuel B. Robertson was ordained pastor of the United Churches of New Providence and Cane Run. He resigned in 1811, and was succeeded in 1813 by the Rev. Thomas Cleland, D.D.,* whose ministry has been eminently successful.

While Mr. Rice was diligently engaged in gathering the rudiments of churches around Harrod's station, the Rev. ADAM RANKIN, from Augusta county, in Virginia, having received a call from the Presbyterians of Lexington, was organizing a church in that thriving town, under the name of Mount Zion. He arrived on the 1st of October, 1784, and immediately found himself surrounded by a large congregation. It is related that on sacramental occasions, when the number was swelled by persons from contiguous parts of the country, not less than five hundred communicants attended. In conjunction with Mount Zion, Mr. Rankin took charge of the congregation of Pisgah, about eight miles south-west of Lexington.† This year also the Churches of Paint Lick in Garrard county, and Salem in Clarke county, were formed.

In consequence of the multiplication of congregations, and in order to have a bond of union for their better regulation and efficiency, a General Meeting for Conference was held at Cane Run, March 30th, 1785.‡ At this Conference there were three ministers present; Mr. Rice, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. James Mitchell, of Virginia, whose name does not appear again,§ together with Mr. Terah Templin, a probationer. There were 10 representatives present from five congregations: Caleb Wallace|| and William M'Cune, from CANE RUN; Thomas Maxwell and Saml. Woods, from PAINT LICK; James M'Coun and George Buchanan.

* Bishop, pp. 148, 149.

† Rankin's Autobiography. Filson, in Imlay, p. 321. Bishop, p. 140.

‡ M'Afee MS. p. 27.

§ He was ordained by Hanover Presbytery, August 3d, 1784. After the Conference he returned to Virginia, and succeeded Mr. Rice at the Peaks of Otter. —MS. Hist. of Hanover Pby. pp. 13, 14.

|| CALEB WALLACE was born in Charlotte county, Va., and graduated at Princeton, in 1770. He was ordained to the ministry, and preached for some years. He removed to Kentucky, and devoted himself to the law, and became a Judge of the Supreme Court.

from NEW PROVIDENCE ; James Beard and James Allen, from SALEM ; Richard Steele and John Brooker, from MOUNT ZION.

The Conference was organized by calling Mr. Rice to the chair, and appointing Caleb Wallace, Clerk. After prayer, they proceeded to business.

The very first subject to which their attention was turned, was the necessity of being formed into a separate Presbytery, on account of the inconveniences of their present relation ; and Messrs. Rice, Rankin, and Mitchell, or any two of them, were chosen a committee to solicit of the Presbytery of Hanover the ordination of Messrs. Crawford and Templin, and to engage their concurrence in obtaining of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia the separation desired.

Another measure they agreed on, was to appoint the same ministers a standing committee, without whose certificate of good character and credentials no strange travelling ministers were to be received or encouraged, that all imposition might be prevented.

They recommended the election of three elders in every congregation, describing the qualifications requisite, the mode of election, and the mode of ordination.

The propriety of elders conducting religious services in the absence of a minister, came under discussion, but was referred for further consideration.

To prevent unworthy applicants from being hastily admitted to church privileges, all that were desirous of admission, whether on an original profession of faith, or by certificate of membership elsewhere, were required to signify their intention a sufficient time previous, that the minister might have opportunity of satisfying himself as to their piety and knowledge.

It was agreed, that the people should be exhorted to avail themselves of the opportunities of ministerial instruction now placed within their reach ; and that they should bring the younger branches of their families under the influence of religion, by means both of the public services of the sanctuary, and of strict care in private.

The people were to be exhorted, likewise, to afford their ministers such a certain and adequate support, that they might be able to devote their whole time to study and parochial visitation.

The people were further enjoined to cultivate a catholic spirit

towards other denominations ; and by a meek and Christian deportment to impress all that had intercourse with them with a sense of the reality and importance of religion.

The Conference being desirous to consider more fully several matters of consequence, resolved to adjourn to meet again in the same place on the second Tuesday of July, following ; and Mr. Rice was requested to open the meeting with a sermon suited to the occasion. Ministers and probationers, within the district, were particularly desired to attend ; and the several congregations, and neighborhoods desirous of being formed into congregations, were directed to send each of them two delegates to represent them in the proposed Conference. The Conference was now closed with prayer, and adjourned, after having been in session three days.

The Conference met again, according to adjournment, at Cane Run Meeting-House, on Tuesday, July 12th, 1785. Mr. Rice opened the Conference with a discourse from Isaiah lxii. 1: "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth."

The ministers present were Messrs. Rice and Rankin ; together with Messrs. James Crawford and Terah Templin, probationers. There were in attendance twenty-three representatives from twelve congregations, each congregation or neighborhood, save one, being fully represented by two delegates, as before recommended—as follows :

WILLIAM MAXWELL,	}	. . .	from Jessamine Creek.
JOHN TODD,			
HENRY McDONALD,	}	. . .	" Walnut Hill.
THOMAS CAVIN,			
JOHN McCONNELL,	}	. . .	" Mount Zion.
DAVID LOGAN,			
WILLIAM SCOTT,	}	. . .	" Mount Pisgah.
WILLIAM EVANS,			
THOMAS MAXWELL,	}	. . .	" Paint Lick.
JACOB FISHBAC,	}	. . .	" Forks of Dick's river.
ANDREW ELDERS,			
ROBERT CALDWELL,	}	. . .	" Concord, (Danville.)
SAMUEL McDOWELL,			
JOHN TAMPLIN,	}	. . .	" Cane Run.
CALEB WALLACE,			

JAMES McCOUN,	}	. . .	from New Providence.
GEORGE BUCHANAN,			
GEORGE POMEROY,	}	. . .	“ Hopewell.
JOHN VEECH,			
JAMES BEARD,	}	. . .	“ Salem.
JAMES ALLEN,			
JAMES DAVIES,	}	. . .	“ Whitley's Station and Crab Orchard.
JOHN SNODDY,			

Mr. Rice was called to preside, and Caleb Wallace was chosen clerk. The sessions, as before, were always begun and closed with prayer.

The items of business on which consultation was had, were the following :

The Conference recommended, that in the absence of Ministers, the elders should assemble the congregations, and conduct religious services, viz: prayer, singing, reading the Scriptures, and reading judicious selections from approved doctrinal and practical treatises.

The elders, in vacant congregations, were also advised to catechise the children and young people, and encourage an acquaintance with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, together with such helps and explanations as could be obtained.

In addition to the recommendations of the former Conference, the congregations were advised to provide convenient houses of worship as soon as circumstances would permit.

It was enjoined that the several parts of divine service be performed with the greatest decency and solemnity; that good clerks or precentors be employed in every congregation; and that grave and agreeable tunes be used in singing the praise of God. And further, frequent and earnest prayers were to be offered for the Divine blessing on the public ordinances.

In view of the dangers to which the country was still exposed from a savage enemy; of the general declension of virtue, and of the prevalence of vice; a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, was recommended to be observed on the first Wednesday of the ensuing August, or on some other day prior to the last day of September.

In view of the scarcity of books in the District, and of the difficulty of ministers procuring suitable libraries, which might retard their progress in knowledge, and the success of their min-

istrations, it was recommended that measures be taken to remedy the defect. Collections were to be made in each congregation, and the money appropriated to the purchase of books, to be loaned to ministers and probationers, at such places, and under such regulations, as the Conference or Presbytery might, from time to time, direct.

Sundry queries were proposed on Psalmody, and referred, on account of the importance of the subject, for future consideration.

The Conference then resolved to adjourn, to meet in the same place on the first Tuesday of October following, when Mr. Rankin was requested to open the meeting with a sermon. The recommendations before adopted, inviting the attendance of ministers, probationers, and delegates, were repeated; and after a session of two days, the Conference adjourned.*

Whether the adjourned meeting took place in October or not, is not known, as there is no record extant of any further proceedings.

This Conference, of so much value and interest in the early foundation of the Church, was probably convoked by Mr. Rice; as the plan, and all the measures proposed, together with the admirable order and method which characterized the entire proceedings, bear the impress of his judicious and far-sighted mind. The very first step taken, had reference to the introduction of complete and regular Presbyterian organization; and the plan suggested met the approbation of the Hanover Presbytery. In consequence of the recommendations passed, Churches were organized and elders ordained in several places.†

The harmony of the Conference was at one time in danger of being interrupted by the introduction of the vexed question of Psalmody. The person who proposed the queries was Mr. Rankin, whose mind had long been absorbed by this subject.‡ On account of the opposition made to his rigid views he had left the Holstein settlements, and now threw the apple of dis-

* McAfee's MS. Hist. pp. 27—34, where a copy of these minutes is preserved in full.

† McAfee MS. pp. 25, 31. The Churches of Cane Run and New Providence are specified, and the names of the elders recorded.

‡ McAfee MS, p. 34. MS. Memoir, dictated by the Rev. Mr. Rice, in the possession of the Lyle family.

cord among the young and promising churches of Kentucky. His ministerial brethren entirely dissented from his sentiments ; and while he viewed them as latitudinarian, they regarded him as a bigot.

The causes of the delay in the organization of churches were as follows. When Mr. Rice entered upon his labors in Lincoln county according to invitation, he found the religious condition and prospects of the community extremely discouraging. Save a few who had been his acquaintances and hearers in Virginia, scarce any supported a creditable profession. Some were grossly ignorant of the first principles of religion ; others were addicted to intemperance, profanity, or brawling ; and nearly all totally neglected the forms of devotion in their families. Certificates, indeed, were handed him by many, attesting their relation to churches in the older settlements from which they had emigrated ; and others attempted to impose on him by procuring the testimony of their neighbors to their correct moral deportment. If the neighbors scrupled to give such testimony when required, the passion and resentment exhibited afforded unequivocal evidence that the scruples were not groundless. On the other hand, when such testimony was adduced, Mr. Rice was generally compelled to distrust the information, either on account of the duplicity of the witnesses, their doubtful character, or their manifest ignorance of the qualifications of a Christian professor.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Rice declined administering the sealing ordinances for upwards of a year, that he might, after close personal scrutiny, be better prepared to act as the true interests of the Church required. This interval he spent in preaching and visitation, and in extending his acquaintance with the people. In this course he persevered, although it gave great umbrage, and thinned his congregations ; but while the nominal professors freely censured him, he was encouraged and sustained by the truly pious. This latter class, however, constituted by far the smaller number.*

It was the state of affairs just described, which doubtless led to the adoption of the fifth recommendation of the Conference at their first meeting in March ; the design of which was to prevent the intrusion of unworthy members, by affording the minister an

* Bishop's Rice, c. ix. pp. 67-69.

opportunity beforehand of satisfying himself as to their qualifications.

Sufficient time having now elapsed for observation and reflection on his own part, and for a gradual return of the people to correct habits of thinking and conduct, and having the prospect of being sustained by the judgment of the Conference, Mr. Rice thought the religious community ripe for a strict and vigilant discipline; and in consequence churches were organized everywhere without further delay, and elders ordained over them.

In the ensuing fall, two clergymen, the Rev. Edward Crawford and Rev. Charles Cumming, visited Kentucky, by order of the Presbytery of Hanover within whose bounds the district was embraced, and in accordance with the suggestion and petition of the late Conference. In connection with Mr. Rice, they constituted a Commission of Presbytery, empowered to examine and ordain the two probationers, Messrs. James Crawford and Terah Templin. This duty they performed at Danville, Nov. 10th, 1785, and ordained the young men to the work of evangelists, or *sine titulo*; after which they returned to Virginia.*

In this occurrence two circumstances are worthy of notice: 1. The appointment of a *Commission*, invested with full *Presbyterial* powers and functions for a specific purpose, a precedent that may be borne in mind when we come to speak of the Commission of Synod in 1805, against whose jurisdiction exceptions were taken on account of their investment with *Synodical* powers for a specific purpose. 2. The early occurrence of ordinations *sine titulo*; a measure rendered necessary by the destitute condition of the country, which was to be in a great degree evangelized as missionary ground; but which has, in later times, and to an unwarrantable extent, been repeated to the injury of the Church.

The REV. JAMES CRAWFORD was educated at Princeton College, and would have proceeded Bachelor of Arts in the fall of 1777, had not the proximity of the British forces interrupted the annual commencement. He received, however, a certificate from the President, Dr. Witherspoon, stating the fact, and promising a degree as soon as circumstances would warrant. A certificate of church membership which he received, in October

* Bishop's Rice, App. No. VII. p. 159.

of the same year, from his pastor, Rev. John Craighead, is another curious relique of those times, when the names of Whig and Tory exerted a talismanic influence over men's minds. Appended to the document is an attestation of his patriotic sentiments, in these words: "And also, he appears well affected to the cause of American liberty." When we bear in mind the probability, from the date, that this was furnished as part of the credentials necessary for his reception by the Presbytery as a candidate, it gives us an insight into the political preferences of the Presbyterian clergy. Warm patriots themselves, it doubtless constituted a strong recommendation for a candidate to entertain similar sentiments.

Two years afterward Mr. Crawford was licensed by the Presbytery of Hanover, October 26th, 1779; but was disabled from constant preaching by an imposthume in his side; and in 1784 he removed with his family to Kentucky. Upon his ordination in the succeeding year, he settled at Walnut Hill, and gathered and organized a flourishing church. There he remained until his death; dividing his time between two churches, a custom rendered necessary by the paucity of ministers. Although laboring under feeble health, he gave full proof of his ministry, and numerous converts attested his industry and zeal, not only in the pulpit, but from house to house. At last, his exertions in the open air, during a sacramental season at Paint Lick, in March, 1803, induced an illness which in less than a fortnight brought him to the grave. He was not disabled from going about and giving directions in the family, and his death was as unexpected as it was easy; therein having his frequent prayer for a *Euthanasia* answered.* Mr. Crawford was a plain-looking man, of very grave demeanor; not a popular preacher, but highly useful and instructive. He was suspected of favoring Marshall and his party in the great revival.

The Rev. TERAH TEMPLIN was the son of a respectable farmer at the Peaks of Otter, whose piety and intelligence rendered him a useful assistant to Mr. Rice during his labors there. Terah was a promising young man of twenty-three, when he attracted the notice of his pastor, who proposed to educate him for the ministry. A matrimonial engagement then pending,

* Bishop, pp. 159-162.

proved a temporary obstacle to this step; but on the decease of his affianced, shortly after, he willingly accepted the proposal. Having passed through a preparatory course with a select class, under Mr. Rice's tuition, he completed his studies at Liberty Hall, of which he was one of the first students. He was licensed by Hanover Presbytery in 1780, and soon after came to Kentucky, where he received ordination *sine titulo*, in 1785. He immediately repaired to Washington county, on the south side of the Kentucky river, where he organized several churches, and did the work of an evangelist faithfully. He also organized several churches, and supplied destitute congregations in Livingston county. He died, October 6, 1818, at the advanced age of seventy-six. Faithful to the attachment of his early years, which had been prematurely sundered, he never married. His talents were respectable, his discourses well digested, his doctrinal views sound, his manner solemn and impressive, and his deportment exemplary, guileless, and unassuming.*

The year 1786 was memorable for the reinforcement of the little band of laborers, by the accession of the Rev. THOMAS CRAIGHEAD and ANDREW McCCLURE, from Western Virginia, and by their organization into a Presbytery. Thus was the ardent desire, early expressed by the first Convention at Cane Run, gratified, the Presbytery of Hanover cordially promoting it. The time had arrived when the expansion of the Church demanded a reorganization of the entire body. Accordingly the Synod of New York and Philadelphia took into serious consideration a plan for the erection of several new Presbyteries, the division of the old Synod into four new Synods, and the government of the whole by a General Assembly.† This plan was not finally carried into effect till three years afterward, viz. till the third Tuesday of May, 1789; being under discussion all that time.

The SYNOD OF VIRGINIA embraced the Presbytery of Redstone, which covered the settlements in Western Pennsylvania; the Presbytery of Hanover, which covered Eastern Virginia; the Presbytery of Lexington, which covered the Valley and West of Virginia; and the Presbytery of TRANSYLVANIA, (a euphonious and classical name for *the backwoods*;) including

* Bishop's Rice, App. No. VIII. pp. 162-165.

† Records of the Presb. Ch., Part IV., pp. 522, 523.

the district of Kentucky and the settlements on Cumberland river, extending into what is now the State of Tennessee. The jurisdiction of Transylvania Presbytery also included, at a subsequent period, the settlements on the Miamies, in what is now the State of Ohio. Any one who will take the trouble to cast his eye over the map of the United States, will be able to form an idea of the extent of territory covered, and to appreciate the difficulty, subsequently experienced, of bringing the discipline of the Church to bear with promptness on the disorders of the extreme boundaries.

The PRESBYTERY OF TRANSYLVANIA consisted of the Rev. David Rice, Thomas Craighead, Adam Rankin, Andrew McClure, and James Crawford. All these ministers, with the exception of Mr. Craighead,* met in the Court House in Danville, on Tuesday, the 17th of October, 1786, and organized, agreeably to the direction of the Synod; Mr. Rice presiding as Moderator, and Mr. McClure acting as Clerk. The Rev. Terah Templin, lately ordained by a Commission of Hanover Presbytery, was admitted, and took his seat as a member. There were five ruling elders present—Messrs. Richard Steel, David Gray, John Bovel, Joseph Reed, and Jeremiah Frame.†

From an inspection of the Minutes, this meeting appears to have been conducted with great decorum.‡ Vacant congregations were recommended to meet on the Lord's Day, for worship, under the direction of the elders, who were to pray, select portions of Scripture and of the works of approved divines to be read, and appoint the readers.||

It was agreed also that CATECHISTS should be appointed for the purpose of instructing the young and ignorant; but that no person should receive an appointment to the office until he had first been nominated by a minister, and examined and approved by the Presbytery; and that he should not, by virtue of this

* The distance at which Mr. Craighead resided made him a frequent absentee.

† Min. Trans. Presb., vol. i., pp. 1, 2.

‡ The old forms, since discarded, were carefully observed, and the Clerk regularly recorded his "*Ubi post preces sederunt qui supra*," &c.

|| Min., p. 3.

appointment, attempt to expound the Scriptures, preach the Gospel, or dispense sealing ordinances.*

In 1788, the Presbytery received the Rev. SAMUEL SHANNON, a graduate of Princeton, from Western Virginia. He took charge of the Churches of Bethel and Sinking Spring, of which he continued pastor for four years, when he resigned them for the Church of Woodford. Here he continued till 1806. In the war of 1812 he volunteered to accompany the north-western army as a chaplain. He was a man of great physical strength. His fist was like a sledge-hammer, and he was said to have lopped off a stout bough at a single stroke of his sword, when charging through the woods. Notwithstanding his strength, he was one of the best-natured men in the world, and nothing could provoke or ruffle him. He had also a mechanical turn, and invented a piece of apparatus called The Whirling Table; but he was out of his place in the pulpit. To a rough, awkward, slovenly appearance, which might, however, have been overlooked, was added a slow and stammering utterance. He labored indefatigably, but had no animation. He had zeal without warmth; and, like the head of Medusa, chilled and petrified every one that listened to him. The latter years of his life were employed in missionary labors, chiefly in the desolate regions of Indiana, where he was cut off by the country fever, in the summer of 1822.†

The Rev. ANDREW McCURE was born in Augusta county, Virginia, in 1755, and was licensed to preach in 1783. He had been a pupil of Mr. Graham. He visited Kentucky in 1784, but returned and was ordained pastor of Round Oak. He could not forget, however, the charms of Kentucky, and, in 1786, removed thither with his family. In 1787 he organized the Salem and Paris Churches; and in 1789 took charge of the latter, where he remained till his decease in 1793, in the 39th year of his age.‡

* At the next meeting, Mr. James Kemper, (improperly written Camper,) on the nomination of Mr. Rice, and after an examination on divinity, was appointed to the office of a Catechist, formally engaging not to violate the provisos above recited. Mr. Kemper was afterwards ordained pastor of the Churches of Cincinnati and Columbia, October 23d, 1792, the Presbytery meeting in Cincinnati for the purpose. *Min. Trans. Presb.*, vol. i., pp. 4, 10, 76.

† *MS. Hist. of Bethel Church*, by Rev. Robert Marshall, p. 1. Bishop, p. 286.

‡ *Min. Trans. Presb.*, vol i., p. 96. Bishop, p. 282.

The founding of Transylvania Seminary in 1783, its removal from Lincoln to Lexington in 1788, and the interest taken in its fortunes by Mr. Rice and other Presbyterians, Hon. Caleb Wallace, Col. Todd, and his father, would properly fall into this place; but as a connected account will be furnished, in a subsequent chapter, of the fortunes of this institution, details are deferred for the present.

These steps were a great advance upon the loose and disorderly state in which Mr. Rice found religion on his arrival, but much remained to be done. The superficial gazer, charmed with the order and external prosperity everywhere visible, might have exclaimed, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!" but the experienced Christian has learned to look deeper than the surface, and to search for that vital piety, without which the body is inanimate, and which alone constitutes the true glory of the Church. The venerable patriarch might have been congratulated on his seeing twelve churches planted and flourishing within the short space of three years; but his penetrating eye observed much that gave him pain.

Dissatisfied with the inordinate worldliness and lukewarmness of his own denomination, he looked in vain for a more pleasing and encouraging prospect among other sects. The state of society was quite different from that of an older settled country. The novelty of the circumstances into which they were brought abated the piety and spirituality of the Christian character, and generated a careless indifference to religion. The unpromising aspect of the field of labor threw Mr. Rice into deep despondency, until the society of a devout old Baptist preacher from New York, Mr. Gano, and his own private exercises of mind, reanimated him, and he redoubled his zeal and exertions. Not contented with his own personal duty, he wrote a circular letter to his ministerial brethren, about the year 1790, proposing Paul as their common example. A revival of religion was the happy consequence, in his own and other congregations, which continued for some months. During this period, not only were Christians more interested, but every sacramental occasion saw a few converts added to the Church.

At the period under review the Presbyterians and Baptists had an equal number of congregations, viz., sixteen of each

denomination.* But the latter had greatly the advantage as regarded preachers, boasting no fewer than thirty; while the Presbyterians could count only seven. These two were for some years the only prominent sects in the country. It was not till 1786 that two travelling preachers of the Methodist connection, James Haw and Benjamin Ogden, visited Kentucky, and the number in society was then but ninety, all of whom were whites.† Mr. Haw afterwards (1803) connected himself with the party called Cumberland Presbyterians. There were as yet but a handful of scattered Episcopalians, without a minister or a place of worship.‡ About fifty Roman Catholic families had emigrated from Maryland in 1785 and 1786, who were principally settled round Bardstown and in Nelson county, to whom Father Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, was sent as a missionary, by the Very Reverend Dr. Carroll, in 1787.§ He was followed in 1790 by the Rev. William de Rohan; and by the Rev. M. Barrièrès, and the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, a French refugee, in 1793; the latter of whom lived to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival. At this time the number of Roman Catholic families amounted to three hundred, very scattered.|| After this period, priests and congregations

* Winterbotham, vol. iii., p. 149.

† Methodist Gospel Herald, vol. ii., p. 152.

‡ Marshall, vol. i., p. 144. Winterbotham, vol. iii., p. 149.

§ Father Whelan was as much troubled to collect his arrears as Father Rice. He was compelled to go to law for the payment of a written engagement for £100; and the jury gravely decided that he should be paid, but paid in produce! For speaking freely of this verdict, he was prosecuted for slander, and fined £500! He was about to be imprisoned, when one of his prosecutors, a Catholic, relented, and went his bail. This furnishes an amusing contrast with Dr. Spalding's commentary on Mr. Rice refusing to remove to Kentucky without "a substantial call in the shape of an instrument of writing, signed by three hundred men. So much for married preachers." Sketches, p. 84. But the Vicar-General has no wit to spare, and no 7th chapter of 1st Corinthians to quote, in the similar case of Father Whelan. According to Dr. Carroll's advice, "*an instrument of writing* was drawn up, by which six of the principal emigrants to Kentucky had bound themselves to pay him annually the sum of one hundred pounds in currency—a sum about equal to \$280 of our present money. Yet F. Whelan had not been more than six months in Kentucky, when an effort was made by one or two of the principal contractors to have this instrument set aside and declared illegal by the courts of law." p. 46. Contrast this prudent silence with his insinuations against the Protestant preachers, as "the keenest traders of the country;"—"Such, then, are thy acknowledged fruits, O Protestantism;"—"So much for married preachers." pp. 89, 88, 84. "We mean to be impartial!" Most candid Vicar-General!

|| Poor Father Badin had to fare as hardly as Father Rice and Dr. John P. Campbell, wearing homespun of necessity, and grinding his own corn with a

multiplied rapidly. The Diocese of Bardstown contains at present about thirty churches and 10,000 communicants.*

The predilections of the Virginia emigrants generally inclined to the Baptist or Presbyterian persuasions, according to their previous geographical position east or west of the Blue Ridge. The reader will not be displeased to learn something of the early Baptists.

About the close of the revolutionary war, great numbers of Baptists removed from the lower counties of Virginia, and occupied some of the fairest portions of Kentucky. To them belongs the credit of having been the first to introduce the regular public worship of God, and the organization of churches.† Ten or more of their preachers accompanied them. The most prominent was Lewis Craig, of Spotsylvania county. He and the majority of his flock organized themselves into a distinct church on starting, and removed in a body in 1781, keeping up worship whenever they halted on the journey. This "Travelling Church" first settled on Gilbert's Creek, in Lincoln, but two years afterwards, a large number, with Mr. Craig, crossed the Kentucky, and formed the South Elkhorn Church.‡

In 1785, the Baptists were sufficiently numerous to constitute three Associations, Elkhorn, Salem, and South Kentucky. With the exception of the last named, which espoused the views of the Separatists, all belonged to the regular Baptists, whose doctrines were strictly Calvinistic, as represented in the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, which is the same substantially with the Westminster.§

The early Baptist preachers were *Joseph Redding*, a zealous and popular preacher; || *William Marshall*, an uncle of the late Chief Justice Marshall, who possessed a strong mind, and whose conversion was the more remarkable from his having been the brightest ornament of the fashionable circles in his early days; ¶ *Lewis Craig*, the most prominent and influential minister of his

hand-mill. Once he was for several days without bread, till supplied by a friend who accidentally was apprised of his situation. Spalding, p. 70.

* Spalding, p. 298.

† Filson, in Imlay, p. 321. ‡ John Taylor's Hist. of Ten Churches, p. 40.

§ Benedict's Hist. of the Baptists, vol. ii. pp. 228, 237.

|| Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers, by Rev. James B. Taylor, of Richmond, p. 208.

¶ Taylor's Lives, p. 103.

time, who had been imprisoned in Virginia, and preached to crowds through the iron grates;* *Elijah Craig*, a man of considerable natural talents and inextinguishable zeal, but too censorious in his temper; *John Taylor*, an illiterate but shrewd man, a Boanerges in the pulpit, with a constitution of iron, who drew up a history of ten churches to which he had ministered;† *William Hickman*, who was converted by hearing some Baptist preachers exhorting from the windows of Chesterfield jail, and who afterwards himself baptized more converts than any of his teachers, five hundred at the Forks of Elkhorn alone;‡ and *Ambrose Dudley*, who was converted while a captain in the revolutionary army, and retaining his military habits, became renowned as a disciplinarian, a single glance of his eye being sufficient to awe an assembly into silence.§ He was the father of the distinguished Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, in Transylvania University. The longevity of all these men was remarkable. Redding was aged 65 years when he died; Marshall and Dudley, 73; Hickman, 76; Elijah Craig, 80; Taylor, 81; and Lewis Craig, 87.

* Lewis Craig was not a man of cultivated mind, but of sound sense, recommended by agreeable manners, a musical voice, and an impassioned delivery. His labors were chiefly confined to Orange and Spotsylvania, and hundreds were converted under his preaching. The friends of the establishment taking the alarm, the sheriff arrested him in the yard of the meeting-house, and dragged him and others to court as disturbers of the peace. "May it please your worship," said the sheriff, "they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat!" As they refused to abstain from preaching, they were sentenced to Fredericksburg jail for a month. They marched through the street to prison, singing "Broad is the road that leads to death!" Craig preached through the iron grates to large crowds, not without success. At another time, he was imprisoned three months in Caroline. He removed to Kentucky in 1781; but subsequently became involved in imprudent speculations, from which he suffered much, both in mind and purse. His trials and disappointments, however, were sanctified to him, and he recovered his spirituality and religious comfort before his death, which occurred in 1827, and in the 87th year of his age.—Taylor's Lives, p. 84.

† Taylor's Lives, p. 217. ‡ Taylor's Lives, p. 221. § Taylor's Lives, p. 214.

CHAPTER III.

THE RANKIN SCHISM.

SMALL as the circle of Presbyterian influence was, the blighting curse of schism was destined to contract it, and to retard the healthy and triumphant march of evangelical truth. The author of this disturbance was the Rev. Adam Rankin. We have already seen him at the Conference of Cane Run, attempting to sow the seeds of discord by obtruding his rigid opinions on the subject of Psalmody. Although his brethren, on that occasion, disapproved of his views, he obstinately persisted in inculcating them in every quarter. Had he confined himself to the mere advocacy and use of Rouse's literal version, no one would have taken umbrage; but not satisfied with calm and dispassionate argument, he took the field as a fierce polemic, and launched his anathemas against all who presumed to differ from him.

So intent was he upon subverting the new Psalmody, or as Cary Allen afterwards called it, "*Gospel Psalmody*," that he attended the first General Assembly, which met in Philadelphia, in May 1789, although bearing no commission, and handed in an overture and a request to be heard on the subject of it, with a view to obtain a repeal of the resolution of the old Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1787, *allowing* Watts' Psalms to be used in the churches.* The Assembly listened to him patient-

* The resolution is in these words: "The Synod did allow, and do hereby allow, that Dr. Watts' imitation of David's Psalms, as revised by the Rev. Mr. Barlow, be sung in the churches and families under their care. But they are, at the same time, far from disapproving of Rouse's version, commonly called "The Old Psalms," in those who are in the use of them, and choose to continue; but are of opinion that either may be used by the churches, as each congregation may judge to be most for their peace and edification. And do, therefore, highly disapprove of severe and unchristian censures being passed on either of the said systems of Psalmody."—Assembly's Digest, p. 312.

ly, and endeavored in a conciliatory manner, to relieve his mind of the difficulties under which he labored, but in vain; and they dismissed him with a recommendation to exercise towards those who differed from him, that charity which was exercised towards himself; and to guard carefully against disturbing the peace of the church on this subject.*

In total disregard of this pious and salutary advice, and as if rather irritated by it, Mr. Rankin no sooner returned home, than he vented the most censorious invectives against the Presbyterian clergy, as deists and blasphemers, rejecters of revelation and revilers of God's word; and all the admirers of Watts he uncere- moniously debarred from the Lord's table.† Nor did he stop here, but shielded himself under the sanction of a Divine warrant, pretending to be directed in this and all other affairs of moment, by dreams and visions. Mr. Rice, to whom he had confided his dreams, solemnly warned him of the danger of being led into great errors and delusions, and expressed his strong disapproba- tion of reliance on dreams and night-visions for direction in duty. But he silenced his friend in a summary manner by replying, that those who had never experienced it, could form no judgment about the matter.‡ He represented himself as an instrument raised up by God for this special juncture, and he was confident that he should live to see the total expulsion of Watts' Psalmody from the Church.§ When asked by what authority he went to the General Assembly, and whom he represented there, the only reply he deigned to give was this: "Tell me was the institution of Watts of Heaven or of men, and I will tell you by what authority I did these things."|| Upon another occasion, and on quite another subject, this enthusiast attempted to lift the veil from futurity, and rounded off his prediction with affirming, as if he were a second Samuel, "that the Lord would not let the words of his servant fall to the ground."¶

The sturdy champions of "David's Psalms" in the most literal version, find themselves in strange company. It was no other than the pompous Unitarian, Paul of Samosata, who first set the example of installing the Psalms in the place of exclusive dignity, on pretence of honoring the words of Holy Scripture, and banished the old church hymns that spoke of Christ as the Incarnate Word.—Neander's Ch. Hist. p. 376.

* Assembly's Digest, p. 315. † Rankin's Narr. of the Process, &c., part I. p. 26.

† See Mr. Rice's Statement, Presbytery's Narrative of Rankin's Trial, p. 11.

§ Presb. Narr. p. 6. Rankin's Narr. part I. p. 39. || Presb. Narr. p. 4.

¶ Evangelical Record, vol. ii. p. 421, note.

To such a length were these extravagances carried that sundry charges were laid before the Presbytery against Mr. Rankin, in consequence of which a Committee of Prosecution was appointed, Oct. 7, 1789, to examine into the allegations, and, if necessary, to make arrangements for a trial.* This committee, consisting of the Rev. James McConnel, (received from Western Virginia, in April previous,) and Messrs. Shannon and Crawford, met at Mount Zion Church, in Lexington, in November, and conducted the investigation. The result of their labors appeared in several formal charges and specifications against Mr. Rankin, which, as they were not digested in as orderly a manner as they might have been, may be here reduced to three heads, viz: That Mr. Rankin had traduced his brethren; that he had unwarrantably debarred from the table of the Lord, all such as used or approved Watts' Psalmody; that he had pretended to extraordinary Divine revelation through the medium of dreams. Citations were issued by the committee to Mr. Rankin and all concerned as witnesses, to attend the next stated meeting of Presbytery, April 29, 1790. Instead of obeying, Mr. Rankin made a precipitate retreat, and exiled himself a year, to use his own expression, in London. His object was two-fold, as he himself has stated. He was in hopes that a temporary absence might mollify the indignant feelings which his course had excited, and he was besides desirous of making further improvements in divinity, and particularly upon a special subject to which he devoted the most intense study. What this subject was, he has not informed us.†

After an absence of two years, he returned; and Presbytery understanding that his sentiments had undergone no change, ordered the citations to be renewed. Meantime, in consequence of a petition from a number of the Pisgah congregation, craving their dismissal from the pastoral care of Mr. Rankin, on account of his continued absence for more than a twelvemonth without any consultation with them, the Presbytery considered themselves authorized to furnish them supplies, and accordingly, May 18, 1791, did appoint Mr. James Blythe, (a probationer from the Presbytery of Orange, in the Carolinas, to whom permission had

* Min. of Transylv. Pby. vol. i. p. 32.

† Rankin's Narr. part II. p. 53. Min. Transylv. Pby. vol. i. pp. 36, 38, 45.

just been granted to preach in their bounds,) to supply one Sunday at Pisgah and one Sunday at Zion.*

On the 25th of April, 1792, the cause came on for trial at Stonermouth Church. Mr. Rankin was present, as were all the witnesses originally cited, except three, one of whom had deceased. Witnesses were examined on both sides upon oath, and subscribed the record with their own hands; after which the defendant was heard for himself. He made no attempt to exculpate himself from the first and second charges, but plead justification. He was about to enter into an argument upon the general subject, but was called to order, and directed to confine his remarks to the simple question of fact, "Had he or had he not conducted himself as was alleged?" When he came to the third charge, he does not appear, so far as can be gathered both from his own Narrative and that of the Presbytery,† to have either confessed or denied, so much as to have expressed regret at having divulged his secret exercises to confidants who proved faithless. One thing he positively denied, viz: that he had ever elevated dreams to a station of authority and direction over the written word, which he affirmed he took for his unerring rule, and by which alone he was governed.

Here he paused. The Rev. James Crawford then rose in his place, and stated, with a solemn air, that he now found himself in very peculiar circumstances, feeling bound, in duty and conscience, as a member of Presbytery, and a minister of the Gospel, to say that the defendant had just been guilty of a positive falsehood, to his own certain knowledge, and of which Mr. Rankin must have been conscious; and, if the Presbytery chose, he would enter into an explanation. The defendant objected to the admission of new testimony, but was overruled, on the ground that a similar indulgence had been previously conceded to himself. Mr. Crawford was accordingly sworn; and deposed, that Mr. Rankin had, on a certain occasion, excused himself to deponent from assisting at a sacrament when Watts would be used, in consequence of a warning he had received in a dream; that he had informed him, that in all matters of consequence he was under an extraordinary Divine direction; that it was in obedience

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. p. 54.

† Rankin's Narr. part I. p. 45. Presbytery's Narr. p. 10.

to such a direction he had removed to Kentucky; and that, in the same extraordinary way, he knew that Dr. Watts' Psalms would be finally laid aside in the Church, at some future time, not specified. Mr. Rankin again denied his having narrated his dreams as revelations from Heaven, at the same time expressing regret that he had divulged them.

Testimony being closed on both sides, and Mr. Rankin heard in his defence, the Presbytery proceeded, in presence of a great concourse of people, to adjudicate the cause. The first and second charges were found to be sustained by testimony, and the defendant's own confession. The third charge was sustained by the testimony of five witnesses, viz: Messrs. Robert Steel, Robert Patterson, John Maxwell and James Trotter, members of Mount Zion congregation, and Rev. James Crawford. The Presbytery considered the proof of guilt conclusive, and adjudged the defendant to be worthy of censure. Mr. Rankin, being summoned to hear the opinion of the court, refused to acknowledge his fault, or to make any concessions. "I appeal," he cried, "to God, angels and men. I protest against the proceedings of this Presbytery, and will be no longer a member of the Transylvania Presbytery." Having thus said, he withdrew, accompanied by his elder, Mr. David Logan. For this open contempt of their jurisdiction, joined to his previous misconduct, as just proven, the Presbytery immediately declared him suspended from the exercise of all ministerial functions, until the next stated session.*

Mr. Rankin had not resolved upon this step without first calculating his strength. No sooner had he pronounced his declination, than a hundred of the spectators promptly stepped forward, and giving him the right hand of fellowship, pledged themselves to stand by him.† A general meeting of his partisans was called, on the first of June following, when they matured measures for separate organization. Commissioners appeared from portions of twelve congregations, representing five hundred families.‡ They published a narrative of the recent events, and a declaration of principles, both drawn up by the pen of their leader. The Presbytery felt themselves obliged, the following year, to publish a faithful narrative of the

* Presb. Narrative, p. 13; Min. T. Pby., vol. i. p. 66.

† Rankin's Narr., Part III. p. 69.

‡ Ibid. p. 70.

whole proceedings in reply, in order to vindicate themselves from misrepresentation.* Such was the origin of the Rankinite schism. In consequence of this contumacious and schismatical conduct, the Presbytery of Transylvania proceeded, at their next meeting, Oct. 2, 1792, to depose Mr. Rankin from the office of the ministry; and to declare his pastoral charge vacant.† In all the steps they pursued, we perceive a gradation of punishment equitably proportioned to the gradation of offence: for aspersions on his brethren, he was censured; for contumacy, he was suspended; for schism, he was deposed.

Artful misrepresentations were industriously circulated, to attract the tide of popular sympathy.‡ The true ground of condemnation was of a personal kind, and Mr. Rankin was punished for being an uncharitable calumniator, and a setter-up of unauthorized terms of communion, under the pretence of Divine sanction: but this was studiously kept out of sight, and, notwithstanding the explicit disavowal of Presbytery,§ the recommendation of the supreme judicatory,|| and the actual use of Rouse's version among certain of the churches without the slightest molestation,¶ (a liberality observed to this day,) it was unblushingly affirmed that the question of psalmody was tried on its naked merits. The pastor of Mount Zion Church was looked upon as a martyr in the cause of truth, persecuted for righteousness' sake; the faithful Abdiel, who alone swerved not from his integrity, when all his fellows proved recreant.

These misrepresentations procured the admission of Mr. Rankin and his party, the ensuing year, (May, 1793,) into the connection of the Associate Reformed. An attempt was afterwards made, in 1814, to reconsider this act, suspicions being awakened

* This was a pamphlet of forty-one duodecimo pages, and the selling price was fixed by the Presbytery at one shilling and sixpence. Min. Tr. Phy., vol. i. p. 86.

† Presb. Narr. p. 14.

‡ Evangel. Record, vol. ii. p. 422; Marshall's MS. Hist. of Bethel, p. 2.

§ "It is hereby declared, that his particular sentiments merely in the use of psalmody were never considered as any ground of censure, or sufficient cause of alienation of affection: he was censured for unchristian and uncharitable reflections on his brethren for their use of Dr. Watts' psalms and hymns, his charging them, on this account, with deism, blasphemy, &c., and that, after he had agreed with some of them to exercise mutual forbearance. Those who spread contrary reports cannot produce a single evidence for it; and those who believe it do it on the most unwarrantable foundation." Presb. Narr. p. 15.

|| Assembly's Digest, p. 313. See, also, pp. 315, 317.

¶ Evangel. Rec., vol. ii. p. 423, Art. "Origin of the Rankinites."

that the body had been imposed on by the parties admitted ; but no issue was ever made.*

Two missionaries from the Associate Church in Scotland, represented as learned and pious men, visited Kentucky in March, 1798, and a considerable number of Mr. Rankin's adherents abandoned him, to form a connection with the new sect. They formed six congregations, and nearly all removed in a body across the Ohio some years afterwards.† As for Mount Zion Church, they continued to cling to their pastor with a devoted attachment, through all his fortunes ; and when he broke off from the Associate Reformed, they became Independent. After he left them, about 1825, they gradually dwindled, until they became almost extinct. The Rev. Mr. Bower, a zealous missionary of the Associate Reformed Synod, visited Kentucky about 1833, and succeeded in collecting the scattered relics, and restoring them to their former connection. Of the Associate Reformed, there are not more than half a dozen feeble churches remaining in the State, there is not a single pastor settled over any of them, and the Presbytery of Kentucky has been merged in another. Such was the end of the Rankinite schism.

As the course of this history will not lead us again to notice Mr. Rankin or his sect, a brief sketch of his career will be subjoined, and the subject dismissed.

The Rev. ADAM RANKIN was born March 24, 1755, near Greencastle, Western Pennsylvania. He was descended from pious Presbyterian ancestors, who had emigrated from Scotland, making a short sojourn in Ireland by the way. His mother, who was a godly woman, was a Craig, and one of her ancestors suffered martyrdom, in Scotland, for the truth. That ancestor, of the name of Alexander, and a number of others, were thrown into prison, where they were slaughtered, without trial, by a mob of ferocious assassins, till the blood ran ankle deep. This account Mr. Rankin received from his mother's lips. His father was an uncommon instance of early piety, and because the minister scrupled to admit one so young, being only in the tenth year of his age, he was examined before a presbytery. From the moment of his son Adam's birth, he dedicated him to the ministry. He

* Bishop's Rice, App. No. III. p. 142.

† Ibid. App. No. IV. p. 144.

was killed in his own mill, when Adam, his eldest son, was in his fifth year. When Mr. Rankin was eighteen years old, he was deeply exercised about his soul, and the duty of entering the ministry; and a friend kindly advancing the means to bear his expenses, without demanding security, he commenced the study of the languages at Mr. Graham's Academy, in Western Virginia. His purpose to enter the college of New Jersey was frustrated by the British troops being in possession of Princeton; and he afterwards lost a year's study by a dangerous illness. He completed his studies with the Rev. Archibald Scott, an excellent scholar, of Hanover Presbytery, and graduated at Liberty Hall, about 1780. Two years after, Oct. 25, 1782, at the age of twenty-seven, he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery, and, about the same time, married Martha, daughter of Alexander McPheeters, of Augusta county. He received three calls from the neighborhoods of Holstein and Nolachuckey, which he declined accepting, on account of disputes on psalmody; and in the following year visited Kentucky, and receiving a call at Lexington, removed thither with his family in 1784.* Here he opened a school, and had Dr. Campbell for one of his pupils. He appears to have been of a contentious, self-willed turn from his youth, for he had not been half a year preaching before he involved himself in a quarrel with his Virginia brethren on his favorite topic.† At the Cane Run Conference, he tried to produce discord; he went to the General Assembly with the intention to dispute;‡ and his wranglings at last ended in a schism. Obstinate and opinionated, his nature was a stranger to concession, and peace was to be bought only by coming over to his positions. He was on no better terms with the Associate Reformed than he had been with the Presbyterians; and his pugnacious propensities brought on at last a judicial investigation. A commission of the General Synod, composed of Dr. John Mason, Ebenezer Dickey and John Lind, ministers, and Silas E. Weir, elder, was deputed to sit in Lexington upon the case. Dr. Mason, then in the zenith of his fame, was chairman. Instead of stand-

* This sketch of Mr. Rankin's early history so far is derived from his autobiography, prepared, shortly before his decease, for his friend, Gen. Robert B. McAfee, then Lieut. Governor of the State.

† Rankin's Narr. p. 41.

‡ "I then concluded I would fight with none, neither great nor small, save the General Assembly only." Ibid. p. 52.

ing a trial, Mr. Rankin declined their jurisdiction. The trial proceeded, notwithstanding, and a final decision was rendered, Sept. 17, 1818. Some of the complaints lodged against the defendant were dismissed, as defective in form; others, as not substantiated; but of the charge of "lying, and slandering his brethren,"* he was convicted, and sentence of suspension from the office of the ministry was pronounced upon him. He refused to respect the decision, and he and his congregation declared themselves independent.†

Mr. Rankin must be acknowledged, from his writings, to have been a man of considerable talent of a certain kind. The most favorable specimen of his powers is a work entitled, "Dialogues, pleasant and interesting, on the government of the Church," designed as an answer to Dr. Mason's "Plea for Catholic Communion." It is composed in a more polished style than his minor tracts, and displays considerable reading, humorous sarcasm, and, occasionally, acute reasoning. But his reasoning is of a loose, rambling character; and the unity of the discourse is continually interrupted by digressions, sometimes tedious, and not always pertinent. His arguments are rather sophistical than solid, and more adapted to silence than to convince. Regarding himself as a second Luther, raised up of Heaven for a special work, he indulged in a truly Lutheran coarseness of expression. Never suspecting the possibility of his being wrong himself, he abused his opponents in no measured terms, as weak, ignorant, envious or profane. They were compared to swine,‡ they bore the mark of the beast,§ they were sacrilegious robbers,|| hypocrites,¶ deists, blasphemers.** Such were the epithets he showered upon the admirers of Dr. Watts. Were we to judge of him only by his publications and ecclesiastical troubles, we should pronounce him ill-tempered and morose; yet, in private life, he is said to have been the reverse; and, in the pulpit, though tedious, not uninteresting. Of this the warm personal attachment of his congregation may be admitted in proof. It was only when heated by

* The chief specification was his representing the Rev. Robert Bishop, late the venerable President of Miami University, as having intrigued to introduce into the Church an odious system of tythe-law. See the "Judgment of the Commissioners." Rankin's Second Process, p. 21.

† Second Process, p. 15.

‡ Ibid. pp. 32, 74.

§ Rankin's Narr. p. 46.

¶ Ibid. p. 32.

§ Ibid. p. 61.

** Ibid. p. 26.

polemical zeal, that he became unamiable and censorious. Psalmody was his monomania.

He had, withal, a dash of enthusiasm in his disposition, bordering on fanaticism. Impressed with the persuasion that God had raised him up as a special instrument to reinstate "the Lord's song" in its ancient honors in the sanctuary, he felt himself lifted above infirmities, and able to stem, single-handed, the torrent of opposition.* He was led by a dream to leave his native home;† in dreams he was instructed not to countenance human inventions;‡ in dreams he was warned to abstain from unhallowed assemblies;§ by dreams he was directed in all matters of moment;|| and, finally, having learned from a dream, or from the study of the prophecies, that the time for rebuilding the holy city was at hand, he took a solemn farewell of his flock, and set off on a journey to Jerusalem;¶ but died on the way, in Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1827, at the advanced age of seventy-two.

The churches were torn and convulsed for years by disputes on Psalmody. When Mr. Rankin seceded in 1792, he carried with him the majority of his congregation, and retained possession of the church edifice. The portion adhering to the Presbyterian communion were compelled to erect a new building adjoining the public square; and in 1795, they called the Rev. James Welch to the pastoral charge.** There was scarcely a congregation that was not distracted by these dissensions.††

Fundamental doctrines and vital piety came to be regarded as subordinate matters. Obedience to the will of God was narrowed down to a single point, and in the shibboleth of a party was wrapped up the faith once delivered to the saints. "While

* Rankin's Narr. p. 52.

† Ibid. p. 50.

‡ Ibid. p. 37.

§ Ibid. p. 49.

|| Ibid. pp. 40, 49.

¶ The veracity of this tradition has been questioned, especially by some gentlemen of high respectability who were in Mr. R.'s confidence. However, the fact must be conceded as beyond a doubt, when the writer states the sources of his information. Mr. Rankin, on the eve of his departure, gave this account of his intentions to two gentlemen connected with his family, (Messrs. Thomas Rankin and Abraham T. Skillman,) by whom it was communicated to the author. Positive testimony, it must be allowed, always overbalances merely negative testimony.

** Bishop's Rice, App. No. VI. Sketch of the Churches in Lexington, p. 152.

†† Ibid. App. No. V. N. Providence and Harrodsburg Churches, p. 148. Ibid. App. No. XXII. Paris, Paint Lick, and Silver Creek Churches suffered. Marshall's MS. Hist. of Bethel Church, p. 2. The Lexington Church suffered severely. In 1808, at the time of Mr. Cunningham's installation, there were not forty communicants.

these things were going on," observes Mr. Marshall, "other denominations took advantage of them, and gained ground."* But this was not the worst effect. Infidelity was just beginning to come in like a flood, and the sacramental host, instead of rallying round the standard, were wasting their energies in intestine feuds. Had the zeal, so lavishly expended upon a secondary point, been employed in the defence and spread of the cardinal doctrines of the Cross, the historian might have had a more pleasing account to narrate than will be unfolded in a subsequent chapter.

* Hist. of Bethel, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSIONARIES OF THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA.

THE prospects of the Church, toward the close of the century, were shrouded in gloom. With the exception of a pleasing but partial revival under Father Rice's labors about the year 1790, matters, instead of improving, rather grew worse, and religion underwent a general decline. In view of the languishing state of the churches, and the great increase of infidelity and vice of every kind, the Presbytery appointed a day in October, 1795, to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.*

Wayne's treaty, in 1794, having removed all further apprehension of Indian invasions, the stations were abandoned, and the settlements expanded their limits. An overwhelming tide of emigration poured into the country, outstripping the means of grace, and fast receding from the influence of religion. In short, religion sank to a low ebb, and while the means of its support and nurture were either stationary or retrograding, a variety of causes combined to threaten its total extinction.

The first cause that may be specified as tending to produce this lamentable result, was the long-continued absence of the regular ordinances of the Church, and of its wholesome watch and discipline. The language of Zion, like our mother-tongue, is lost by disuse, and, with the language, the sentiments it expresses. A low standard of religion and morality was the inevitable result; a process, alarming examples of which are continually furnished to this day. It is easier to fall than to rise. The posterity of Seth soon degenerated, as well as the

* Min. Trans. Presby. vol. ii. p. 81.

descendants of Japhet; and the next generation after Joshua learned the way of the heathen.

Another cause of the general declension was the neglect of family religion and of the careful instruction of the young. As a natural consequence, the youth grew up unimbued with religious principles, and unaccustomed to moral restraints. When they became the men of the next generation, the effects of this early neglect were glaringly visible.

The natural tendency of war may be considered a third cause. It is always demoralizing in the extreme. The irregular life of the backwoodsmen, now skirmishing, now hunting, (which is an image of war,) created an irrepressible passion for excitement, that was very unfavorable to the progress of religion. While the amiable traits of frankness, hospitality, and generosity, were developed by the constant necessity of mutual help and mutual confidence, piety languished, and Esau, the hunter, despised the birthright of the children of God.

A fourth cause, was a universal cupidity, stimulated by unbounded opportunities for its gratification. Encouraged by the prodigal facilities of the land-offices, and the prospect of a rapidly increasing population, speculators eagerly invested their capital in western lands, hoping to realize princely fortunes in an incredibly short time. Land-jobbing, litigation, feuds, and heart-burnings, distracted the country for years, and retarded both its moral and physical improvement.

The dissensions which prevailed among Christians may be set down as a fifth, and most fruitful, cause of the general declension. The Presbyterian Churches were convulsed by a sharp dispute about Psalmody, which ended in a wide and unhappy rupture; while the Baptists were similarly occupied with wranglings between Regulars and Separates. Instead of husbanding their resources, and presenting an unbroken front, well disciplined, and terrible as an army with banners, the churches were impairing their strength by intestine feuds, and exposing their weak points to the contempt of their enemies. While turning their arms against each other, they had no time for successful aggressions upon the camp of Satan.

A sixth cause, was the introduction and spread of French Infidelity. A natural feeling of friendship for France, once our ally, and now struggling herself for freedom after our example,

was strengthened by a feverish exasperation against England for letting loose against the Western frontier the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Besides, many revolutionary officers had removed to Kentucky: Scott, Hardin, Anderson, Croghan, Shelby, and Clark—who had fought side by side with the French in the war of 1776, and who retained a strong partiality in favor of their former companions in arms. Public sentiment was strongly enlisted. Party spirit ran high. The Democratic or Jeffersonian party far outnumbered every other, and carried everything before them. They completely extinguished the small but respectable Spanish party, and overwhelmed them with popular odium, as conspirators engaged in clandestine negotiations with the Spanish government to cede the navigation of the Mississippi. Opposed to President Washington's administration, both in its foreign and domestic policy, they had at their mercy the Federalists, who upheld the government, but were inferior in point of numbers.*

A Democratic society was organized in Philadelphia, in imitation of the Jacobin Club, and affiliated societies soon sprang up in Lexington,† Georgetown, and Paris, in 1793. The character of these clubs was violent and dogmatical. They warmly advocated an alliance with France, and sided with Citizen Genet, minister of the French republic, in his attempts to embroil the

* This was the æra of Liberty Poles and Black Cockades. The Federalists, to show their aversion to the tricolor, mounted a black cockade with an eagle button, worn on the left side of the hat; the Democrats, in their zeal for the young republic, planted the Tree of Liberty at every corner, surmounted with the Roman Cap of Manumission.

† The Hon. John Breckinridge was Chairman of the Lexington Democratic Society, and Judge Todd and Thomas Bodley, Clerks. Mr. Breckinridge was one of the most distinguished men in Kentucky. He was a native of Virginia; a cousin, through the Preston family, of the Hon. James and John Brown; and an intimate friend of President Jefferson, who, in 1805, appointed him Attorney-General of the United States, and a member of the Cabinet. It is not unworthy of note that in a caucus of the party at Washington, in 1804, he had popularity enough to command twenty votes for the Presidency, even when Mr. Jefferson himself, the Coryphæus, was a candidate. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 364. Mr. Breckinridge's brilliant career was prematurely cut short in the prime of life. His children have all occupied prominent stations in society. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, who married a daughter of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and, under Gov. Adair, Secretary of State. He was an active and useful elder in the Presbyterian Church, and carried his Bible with him to the courts of law. He died early in 1824. Letitia married Gen. Peter B. Porter, Secretary of War under President Jackson. Those three eminent divines, Drs. John, Robert and William L. Breckinridge have enjoyed a large share of confidence and consideration in the Church.

country in a war with Spain, in spite of the President's proclamation of neutrality; and they admitted to their public and private meetings his emissaries, Depeau and La Chaise, who bore military commissions for raising an army to attack the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, and who succeeded in enlisting two thousand recruits for the purpose.* To enter into political details would be foreign from our design. They are only mentioned as they reflect light on the popular feeling in relation to religion; for, unhappily, the French† mania brought about a leaning to French infidelity, of which Mr. Jefferson, who was idolized as a friend of the West, a Virginian, a philosopher, and the leader in securing religious liberty in the Old Dominion, was a notorious patron.‡ The first demonstration of hostility to the Christian religion, was the dispensing with the services of a chaplain to the Legislature, in 1793, in opposition to the previous practice.§ Another decisive measure, was the effecting a revolution in Transylvania Seminary, and placing at its head a disciple of Priestley. This man, Harry Toulmin, was, two years afterward, (1796,) elevated by Gov. Garrard, (himself an apostate Baptist preacher,) to the office of Secretary of State. Such was the indifference of public sentiment, that his appointment to so important a post was witnessed without an expression of displeasure from any quarter.|| By the close of the century, a decided majority of the people were reputed to

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 109; and *Self-Defence against Butler*, p. 28. This pamphlet was suppressed, but the last copy was accidentally seen by the author just before its destruction.

† A striking illustration of this mania may be traced in the names given in those times to towns and counties—Paris, Versailles, Bourbon, Fayette,—Isaac Shelby was, at this time, Governor, and John Brown, a member of the Democratic Society, Secretary of State.

‡ Mr. Jefferson's rancor against the Christian religion may be gathered from the following anecdote:—It is related of him that as he was riding through his native State with a distinguished foreigner (Signor Mazzei), his companion expressed surprise at the dilapidated state of some of the churches which they passed, and which had been suffered to fall into decay during the revolutionary war, when the Tory rectors fled to the mother country. The reply which Mr. Jefferson made was characteristic: "they are good enough," said he, "for a god that was born in a stable!"

§ Marshall, vol. ii. p. 130. A salutary change has taken place of late years. In the year 1843, the practice of opening the daily session of the Legislature with prayer was resumed; and in 1845, the example was followed by the Legislatures of Tennessee and Ohio. In 1844, for the first time, the custom of an Annual Day of Thanksgiving was introduced by Gov. Owsley.

|| Butler, p. 262.

be infidels ; and as infidelity is the prolific parent of vice, it is not surprising to find that the whole country was remarkable for vice and dissipation.*

A melancholy spectacle is presented to our view. We behold Infidelity and Vice combined, rolling their turbid tide over the land ; while the Church, that should have been busily erecting barriers to arrest its progress, is either benumbed by covetousness, or wasting her energies in frivolous disputes ; like the Oriental Churches in the seventh century, which were wrangling about Monothelite subtleties while the Mohammedan scimitar was flashing over their heads ; upbraided for their degeneracy by the very impostor to whom they fell an easy prey.

The elder clergy were few and past their prime. They had been useful in gathering the people into congregations, and introducing the rudiments of church order ; but the altered times demanded a more active kind of laborers. The most of them were not above mediocrity ; nor was the dullness of the axe compensated by putting thereto more strength. Accustomed to a certain fixed routine, they could not move out of it. They were men of some information, and sound in the faith, but not deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gospel.† Coming from various parts of the older States, they brought with them the petty prejudices and sectional jealousies to which they had been habituated ; and living far apart, they had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other, and acquiring that mutual confidence which would have enabled them to act with concert and efficiency.‡ They were a stately and dignified set of men, the reserve of whose manners had the effect of keeping people at a distance, and checking familiarity.§ The formal and set method to which they adhered, was better adapted to build up believers than to awaken the unconverted. The sacramental meetings, or sacraments, as they were called, were held at long intervals, when several ministers attended and took part ; tokens were distributed ; a long Action Sermon preached ; the tables

* Dr. Baxter, who travelled through Kentucky in 1801, gives this as the current report at the time. See his Letter, West. Miss. Mag. vol. i. p. 259.

† This was Mr. Rice's description of his fellow-laborers. Bishop, p. 69.

‡ Rice's second epistle. Bishop, p. 381.

§ One of the secrets of Robert Marshall's subsequent popularity, by which he won the hearts of the frank backwoodsmen, was a certain familiarity of manner which encouraged every one to approach him without embarrassment.

duly fenced; a succession of tables served; a fresh minister assigned to each table, and a fresh exhortation to each company; and when the communicants were numerous, (many coming from a distance,) the services were protracted till sunset, and became extremely tedious and fatiguing. The approach of young persons to the communion was a rarity never expected. It was the general impression that none but elderly persons, who from their years had acquired steady habits and were out of the way of temptation, should partake of the ordinance. As a natural consequence the young felt at ease, and gave themselves no concern about religion; and the Church, gaining no accessions, was in a fair way of becoming extinct through natural decrease.

The younger clergy were generally well-instructed and full of zeal, and they strengthened the things that remained and were ready to die; but the sphere of their labors was limited, and owing to their recent arrival they had not that standing and influence which are the product of time. Cary Allen, one of the most promising, zealous, popular, and efficient of them, was snatched away prematurely, in 1795, after only two years' labor. Mr. Calhoun returned to Virginia; Robert Marshall and James Blythe were the only young men left in the field; and the latter was hampered by his connection with a literary institution. It was not until after 1795, when infidelity and irreligion had already attained an alarming headway, that valuable reinforcements arrived from Virginia and North Carolina, and even then they required time, in order to become extensively known and useful.

Of the clergy who entered Kentucky during the last ten years of the century, several belonged to that noble band of youths whose hearts God had touched in the blessed revival of 1787-88, which commenced in Hampden Sidney College, and extended to Liberty Hall. The Synod of Virginia, finding so many young men burning with zeal to publish the Gospel, organized a Committee of Missions, whose duty it was to assign fields of labor to the licentiates as they successively came forward, and to provide means for their support from the voluntary contributions of the people.*

* It deserves to be noted that the earliest domestic missionary operations in the West were conducted under ecclesiastical supervision, and well conducted too; notwithstanding the boasts with which the platform has resounded at the

The missionaries were expected to spend two years in this service under the direction of the committee. Some of them chose Kentucky as their field of labor; and collections were made by the Presbytery of Transylvania in aid of their support.* Their education, and the training they had received in revivals and itinerant service, pre-eminently fitted them for the responsible positions they were called to occupy; and as we trace their connection with the subsequent history of the Church, we shall find the integrity and purity of the Presbyterian communion preserved, under God, mainly through the vigilance and fidelity of these men. One of the number indeed, strayed lamentably, but it was only a temporary delusion; his own naturally strong mind, and a radical principle of piety, assisted by the affectionate exhortations of his brethren, brought him back again to the truth. The rest never wavered for an instant. They all stood firm in the perilous hour, and intrepidly offered battle to the adversaries of the evangelical system; and their efforts were finally crowned with success.

There were eight of these missionaries of the Synod who entered Kentucky in the following order, viz. Robert Marshall, in 1791; Cary H. Allen and William Calhoon, in 1792; John P. Campbell and Samuel Rannels, in 1794; Robert Stuart and Robert Wilson, in 1798; and John Lyle, in 1800.

The Rev. ROBERT MARSHALL was born in County Down, Ireland, Nov. 27th, 1760; and in the 12th year of his age accompanied his family to West Pennsylvania. He was a wild boy, and when the revolutionary war broke out, enlisted as a private soldier, at the age of sixteen, in opposition to the wishes of his mother. Contrary to what might have been expected from such

anniversaries of the Home Missionary Society, that that Voluntary Association was the pioneer in the praiseworthy enterprise, and that without its exertions, the West would not have been supplied with the Gospel.

* In October, 1790, the Presbytery of Transylvania ordered collections to be taken for the support of missionaries, and appointed twenty-five gentlemen to act as collectors in the different congregations. Min. vol. i. p. 46. Mr. William Jamme, (or Lamb,) was appointed Treasurer; and in 1793, Mr. Andrew McCalla. The people did not at first respond to the call with alacrity; collections were taken in few churches, and they were small in amount, p. 51. In April, 1792, we find the treasurer directed to pay over the money in his hands to Messrs. Cary Allen and Robert Marshall, missionaries, sent by the Synod of Virginia, p. 68. In October, 1793, they recommended Mr. James Welch, then a licentiate, to be employed by the Commission of Synod, p. 99.

a beginning, while in the army he never swore nor drank, although drinking and profanity were common in the camp, and liquor formed part of the rations. When not on duty, he retired to his tent, and devoted himself, like Cobbett, to the study of arithmetic and mathematics. He was in six general engagements, one of which was the hard-fought battle of Monmouth; where he narrowly escaped with his life, a bullet grazing his locks. To the end of his life, military music had a stirring effect upon his nerves. After the war he joined the Seceders, and was very self-righteous; but, as he afterwards believed, was a stranger to a real change of heart. It was under a searching sermon of that man of God, Dr. McMillan, from Rom. ix. 22, that he who had come to find food for criticism and cavil in a preacher of a rival denomination, felt that he was one of the "vessels of wrath fitted for destruction." His self-possession deserted him, his proud head dropped, and he was thrown into a state of the deepest anguish. He vainly besought some outward sign from Heaven of his acceptance, and not receiving any fell into despair. At length he became sensible of the presumption of dictating to God the evidences of conversion, and obtained a more rational hope. This hope he never afterward lost, not even in his wildest aberrations; and towards the close of his life, it rose to a high degree of assurance.

He was now about twenty-three years old; but, not deterred by his age, he resolutely commenced preparation for the ministry. His academical studies were conducted under Mr. Graham, at Liberty Hall: his theological course under Dr. McMillan, something of whose solemn manner he caught. While at Liberty Hall he maintained a consistent and exemplary walk among a set of profane and wicked youths; and, though standing alone, commanded universal respect.* After being licensed by Redstone Presbytery, he returned to Virginia, and labored in the revival with great zeal and success. He was remarkable for his fidelity in visiting and conversing upon religion. In 1791 he removed with his wife to Kentucky, in the capacity of a missionary of the Synod; and on the 13th of June, 1793, was ordained pastor of Bethel and Blue Spring† Churches. He

* Dr. Alexander's Letter, Prot. and Her. Feb. 29, 1844.

† "McConnel's Run." Min. Trans. Presb., vol. i., p. 88.

also conducted a classical school, at which many received their education, who afterwards made a very prominent figure in the world.

In the great Revival of 1800, Mr. Marshall was one of the chief leaders; and, carried away by the torrent of enthusiasm that swept over Kentucky, and sincerely believing his more sober brethren to be wrong, he joined with Stone, in 1803, in fomenting the New Light schism. He afterwards saw his error, and, in 1811, returned to the bosom of the Church. The schismatics were at first called Marshallites, but on his defection were known by the name of Stoneites. He afterwards used to say that he could not ascribe his conduct to any other cause than a strange infatuation; and for years never mounted the pulpit without lamenting his errors, and warning the people against similar delusions. He took an appointment under the Assembly's Standing Committee of Missions, in 1812, and was soon after reinstated in his old charge of Bethel, where he continued till his decease in 1833, at the advanced age of 73. A few months before this event, his repose was rudely disturbed by the Rev. Frederick A. Ross, who stigmatized him as "a reclaimed apostate;" but he was defended with great spirit by his sons, the Rev. James and Samuel V. Marshall, "who spoke with his enemies in the gate."* He deemed it proper to take up the pen himself, and published an acute and able vindication. "I have never seen you," said he, "but imagine you are young and somewhat impetuous, as I once was. You had better rein in, cool a little, stop, light down, and patiently study the views of the Confession on faith and regeneration. So far as respects faith, the writer of this has run your course before you. When I first saw your views, I remember to have said,—This is the faith I held almost thirty years ago. . . . I am now old—have relinquished the field of controversy long ago, in which I labored painfully, for some years, to no profit. If you live to my age you will probably say the same."†

As a preacher, Mr. Marshall was clear, logical, systematic, and adhered closely to his text. He was of a coarse, strong

* Standard, March 2, 1832. Mr. Ross had published a sermon entitled "Faith according to common sense," which Mr. Marshall pronounced a reproduction of the New Light doctrine. "Hinc illæ lachrymæ!"

† Standard, March 23, 1832.

mind, rather of a metaphysical turn; rash and impetuous in his temper. He delighted in startling expressions, and the use of language adapted to rouse and impress an audience. His popularity as a leader of the New Lights was for a time unbounded, thousands on thousands hanging on his lips at their camp-meetings; although considerable allowance must be made for the boldness and palatableness of the doctrines promulgated. His constitutional temperament predisposed him to an ascetic sort of enthusiasm, and to fall the prey of errors which assumed the guise of superior sanctity. While we cannot deny him the credit of sincerity, he was thus betrayed into harsh and denunciatory language against such as either appeared to be deficient in zeal, or indulged in an unusual degree of cheerfulness. Preaching once to believers, he said, "go away, *sinner*s! I have nothing for *you*!" Being persuaded at another time to try a milder strain than was his wont, he delivered a most delightful comforting sermon, suited to encourage the timid, and not overwhelm them. His hearers were softened and enraptured. But at the close of his sermon he could not resist his old propensity, and threw his audience into a state of panic by exclaiming, in his awful way, "And now, you *hypocrites*, you will be snatching at the *children's* bread!"

The Rev. CARY H. ALLEN was the son of a Virginia planter, in Cumberland county,* who sent him to Hampden Sidney College, to be educated, where he became one of the early converts in the revival of 1786. He visited Kentucky as a missionary, in 1792, and on the 11th of October, 1794, he was ordained pastor of Paint Lick and Silver Creek Churches.†

* The old gentleman appears, from his letters, to have been a devotedly pious Christian, though an indifferent scholar. In a letter to James Fishback, March 7th, 1794, (in the possession of James Stonestreet, Esq.,) he referred to the two revivals he had passed through, with great delight; and took comfort from the reflection that when the seed is sown in the heart it will not die. From his account, Cary, who was his favorite son, was in great request at home, and he and the people were very averse to part with him. His connections were large, and the people who belonged to no church were fond of hearing him. The good old man thought Cary was wanted at home "full as much as at *Cantuck*."

† Min. Trans. Presb., vol. i., p. 144. The original Call is among the filed papers of the Presbytery. It is dated Madison, April 21st, 1792, and is signed by Thomas Maxwell, Samuel Woods, Alex. Mackey, James Henderson, John Cochran, John Young, and Robert Dickey. It pledged for his support, £150 in cash the first year, and thereafter as they should agree. This was equal to \$500.

His disposition, naturally gay and volatile, was somewhat sobered after his conversion, but never entirely subdued. He was a mirthful, fun-loving, pleasant companion, and a great wit and satirist. Sanguine and impulsive, his sallies partook occasionally of no little eccentricity ; yet he would say the oddest things and take the boldest flights with such an easy and natural air, that no one felt his sense of propriety shocked. On his way to Kentucky, he put up for the night at a house where the young people of the neighborhood had assembled for a dance. The handsome stranger was invited to join them, and no denial would be taken. At length he suffered himself to be led to the floor and to have a partner assigned him, when all at once he called to the musician—" Stop ! I am always in the habit," said he, " when I enter on any business that I am unaccustomed to, first to ask the blessing of God upon it. Now, as I find myself in new and unexpected circumstances, I beg permission to implore the Divine direction in the matter." Suited the action to the word, he dropped on his knees, and poured forth a prayer in his characteristic impassioned manner ; then, springing to his feet, he followed the prayer with a powerful and eloquent exhortation. Mute with astonishment at such an unlooked-for interruption, the company stood spell-bound. They were enchained by eloquence such as they had never listened to before ; the orator's burning words sank into their souls, and found an echo in their consciences ; death and judgment flashed their terrors before their eyes ; and they felt how unprepared they were to meet their God. Bursting into tears, they besought him to tell them what they must do to be saved. He remained and preached in the neighborhood a few days ; and several hopeful conversions were the happy result of a measure which many would consider of questionable propriety, and which, it must be admitted, in less skillful hands, might have proved a signal failure.

Another story is told of his stopping for the night at a house where lived an old man and his wife, who were both professors of religion. Allen, with a view to try them, feigned ignorance of the Bible and religion, and wanted to know what was meant by such things. He gradually plied them with deistical arguments, till the old man began to waver ; but the wife remained firm. When they sat down to supper, the old man hesitated to

ask a blessing, as had been his wont, when Allen, having carried the joke far enough, asked a blessing himself, thus revealing his true character to the astonished pair. While he rallied his host for succumbing so easily, he had to submit in turn to a similar rebuke from the good wife for having practised a sort of imposition upon them.

Mr. Allen was a man of highly popular talents, impassioned eloquence, and ardent zeal. His mind was not of the most robust and powerful order, but he never failed to make a great impression wherever he went. The charm was aided by his prepossessing appearance, earnest manner, and melodious voice. His style was not elevated, but extremely original and forcible. He was very fluent, and by no means fastidious in the choice of epithets; but though his language might not always bear the test of criticism, it was vivid and striking. His delivery was in the highest degree natural and impressive. He once recited the words of a well-known hymn, "To arms! to arms!" with such a life-like tone, that many sprang to their feet, believing there was an alarm of Indians,—nothing to be wondered at in those days of insecurity. In his congregations he was very successful. He was a favorite with all classes, and even the worldly listened to him with interest, because in his old father's nervous language, "they had faith in him." He kept the attention of his people so fixed on eternal things, that the rising dispute about Psalmody did comparatively little harm among them. More converts were added to the Church than were lost by the schism. This interesting young man shone brightly for the little time Heaven lent him; but after a brief ministry of less than two years, he was carried off by consumption in the very flower of his age and amid flattering prospects of usefulness. He died August 5th, 1795.*

The Rev. WILLIAM CALHOON accompanied Mr. Allen as a missionary to Kentucky in 1792, and after laboring two years on Elkhorn, was ordained pastor of Ash Ridge and Cherry Spring, Feb. 12, 1795. In 1797 he returned again to Virginia, and is still living

* Min. Trans. Presb., vol. ii., p. 62. In 1823, the Presbytery of Transylvania, finding that there was no tombstone to mark his grave, and that of Mr. Vance, in a burying ground near Danville, directed head and foot stones to be set up over both, with appropriate inscriptions, at a cost of \$25.00. Filed papers of Trans. Presb.

at Staunton. He bore an excellent character, and his grave and serious manner made him very impressive in the pulpit.

The Rev. JOHN POAGE CAMPBELL, M.D., unquestionably the most brilliant in this constellation of missionaries, was born in Augusta county, Virginia, in 1767;* and removed to Kentucky with his father, when fourteen years of age. His genealogy may be traced back, on the maternal side, to the famous Scottish divine, Samuel Rutherford, one of the members of the Westminster Assembly, who was persecuted and imprisoned for his resistance to Episcopacy, and who was the author of the highly spiritual work known as *Rutherford's Letters*. As he early exhibited evidence of genius, his father was induced, though he could ill afford it, to give him a liberal education; and after studying some time with Messrs. Hamilton and McPheeters in Rockbridge, and afterwards with Mr. Rankin in Lexington, Kentucky, he became one of Mr. Rice's first pupils in Transylvania Grammar-School. He completed his studies with Mr. Archibald Scott, in his native county; and, at the age of nineteen, conducted an academy himself in Williamsburg, North Carolina. Here he unfortunately imbibed infidel opinions, but was afterwards converted by the accidental perusal of Soame Jenyn's treatise on the Internal Evidences of Christianity. This led to his renouncing the study of medicine, in which he had engaged, to prepare for the office of the holy ministry. He graduated at Hampden Sidney in 1790; and, after a theological course under Mr. Graham, and a winter's reading with Dr. Moses Hoge, of Shepherdstown, he was licensed to preach in May, 1792. Such was the esteem in which he was held, that he was at once associated with his preceptor, as co-pastor of Lexington, Oxford, New Monmouth, and Timber Ridge congregations. In consequence, however, of some of those jealousies and partisanships which are not uncommon in collegiate charges, his situation was rendered unpleasant, and he generously retired before matters came to an open rupture.

In 1795 he took up his abode in Kentucky, and his first charge

* He took the name of Poage as a memorial of a bosom friend and connection by marriage, T. C. Poage, who died about the time of his settlement. His father, Robert Campbell, removed to Kentucky about 1781, and settled first in Lexington, and afterwards in Mason county, where he became an elder in Smyrna Church.

was the churches of Smyrna and Flemingsburg, in Fleming county. He afterwards exercised his ministry in various places, among which were Danville, Nicholasville, Cherry Spring, Versailles, Lexington, and Chilicothe; and in the year 1811 he officiated as chaplain to the Legislature. The support of the clergy, never ample, was considerably curtailed by the New Light schism. At one period he was reduced to as great straits as his venerable predecessor, Father Rice, although living in a community abounding in wealth. The Rev. Robert Stuart, inquiring of one of his congregation about his welfare, was answered "that they had been keeping him on lent." Some light may be thrown on the nature of this lent, as rigorous and long as that of Rome, by the statement that his family had subsisted for six weeks on pumpkins, while his wife, in his own feeble state of health, had to chop and carry firewood through the snow! The salary was small and insufficient. A few families, among whom the names of Shelby and McDowell deserve honorable mention, were kind and generous; but as Dr. Campbell's pride kept him from disclosing his necessities, they were often ignorant of the extent of his wants, and supposed that others were as considerate as themselves. He at length found himself compelled to eke out a scanty subsistence by taking up the practice of medicine. His friend, Mr. James Fishback, hearing the fact misrepresented, and being informed that Dr. Campbell had abandoned his clerical duties and was making himself conspicuous on the political arena, addressed him a letter of expostulation. To this a frank and manly vindication was promptly returned, stating the truth, and pleading the dire pressure of necessity.

Dr. Campbell possessed an acute and discriminating mind. He was an accurate and well read theologian; and excellent as a polemic, although, even in the judgment of his friends, he allowed himself to indulge in too much asperity. Quick to detect the weak points of an adversary, and to unravel the fallacies of the sophist, his controversial writings exerted a powerful influence in their day. No pen was so efficient as his in the hard-fought struggle with the followers of Stone. The Pelagianism of Craighead sunk into oblivion at his touch. His Review of Robinson and Answer to Jones, on the subject of Baptism, although considered too learned for popular use, had a

timely influence in settling the minds of many. In consequence of his scorching exposure of Robinson, the American edition was expurgated, but without any signal to notify the reader of the alteration. Dr. Campbell was a man of fine taste, and devoted to Criticism and Belles-Lettres. His style was elaborate and elegant; and he courted the muses not without success. He wrote verses, and played on the flute, and one of his published discourses was on the subject of Sacred Music. A graceful and energetic elocution, and a delivery, not fluent but animated, combined with solid matter and a sprightly style, gave him great reputation in early life as a preacher. His person was tall and slender; and he had a deep-set, dark-blue eye, which, under strong excitement, flashed like lightning from under his jutting forehead. Unhappily, his voice, which was never strong, became quite broken by preaching to large assemblies of people in the open air during the great revival, so that it was painful to strangers to listen to it. In consequence of this misfortune, his friends, when he visited the East a few years before his death as a commissioner to the General Assembly, were unable to provide a suitable situation for him there, as they ardently desired to do.

The opinion of the literary world was very flattering. Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was intimate with him during his theological studies, pronounced his talents fit for any station. Dr. Dwight, with whom he became acquainted on a journey to Connecticut, in 1812, spoke in the highest terms of his intelligence and scholarship. Dr. Cleland has described him as one of the most talented, popular, and influential ministers in the country, and pre-eminent among the Kentucky clergy. Nassau Hall was about to confer on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, when death prevented the intended honor. His pen was very prolific. His published writings were as follows:—1. A Sermon on Sacred Music, 1797; 2. The Passenger, 1804; 3. Strictures on Stone's Letters on the Atonement, 1805; 4. Vindex, or the doctrine of the Strictures vindicated, 1806; 5. Essays on Justification; 6. An Installation Sermon, 1809; 7. Letters to Craighead, 1810; 8. A Sermon on Christian Baptism, 1810; 9. The Pelagian Detected, a reply to Craighead, 1811; 10. Letters to a Gentleman of the Bar, published in the Evangelical Record for 1812. These Letters were origi-

nally written and sent to the talented and eccentric Major Joseph H. Daviess, who had become captivated with the sceptical theory of Dr. Darwin, which the letters were designed to expose ; 11. An Answer to Jones, and Review of Robinson's History of Baptism, 1812 ; 12. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Synod, 1812 ; the subject, Ministerial Support. This was an able discourse, and boldly maintained the right of them that minister at the altar to live of the altar. It is a touching reflection, that this sermon was drawn from him in view of the necessities with which he had had to struggle, and in reply to spiteful slanders insinuated to his prejudice. He had it in contemplation, furthermore, to prepare such a work as the present, giving an account of the troublous times through which the Presbyterian Church had passed ; but the accomplishment of the design, to the irreparable loss of posterity, was defeated by his death.

It is not to be denied that Dr. Campbell had the infirmities, as well as the shining gifts, of genius. He was of a delicate, nervous organization, and acutely sensitive, and lay open, in consequence, to the charge of being irritable, petulant, and waspish. He was deficient in that patience and condescension which so eminently become a pastor. Dignified and reserved to strangers, he was remarkably pleasant and affable among his intimate friends, who cherish his memory with great affection. Restless and aspiring, this gifted man was under the frequent necessity of changing his residence, and lost more than one comfortable situation where a less sensitive person might have remained for life. Too high-minded to stoop, and too proud to yield where his honor appeared to be concerned, he remained poor all his days ; persecuted by some who were envious of his fame, and slighted by others who lost sight of all his virtues in the contemplation of a single frailty.

Dr. Campbell was married three times,* and on his demise left a family of nine children behind him. His death (which

* His first wife was a Miss Crawford, of Virginia ; his second, a Miss Poage, of Kentucky ; his third, a daughter of Col. James McDowell, of Lexington. His last wife survived him several years ; and died in 1838, in the vicinity of Maysville, under peculiarly distressing circumstances, just as she was about to remove to Illinois, where most of her children were settled. She had become totally deaf and quite infirm ; and being left alone for a few minutes, her clothes caught fire. Her daughter, alarmed by her screams, flew to her rescue, but in the attempt was burned herself, and both were so badly injured as to cause their death in a short time.

was caused by exposure while preaching) occurred on the 4th of November, 1814, at the age of fifty-three, in the vicinity of Chilicothe. To his friend, the Rev. W. L. McCalla, he bore a warm testimony to the support and comfort he derived in his last hours from the doctrines of grace for which he had so earnestly contended.

The Rev. SAMUEL RANNELS was born in Hampshire county, Virginia, December 10th, 1765. His early opportunities were meagre, and he was twenty-seven years old when he graduated at Dickinson College, in Pennsylvania. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Lexington in 1794, and the next spring visited Kentucky as one of the Synod's missionaries. In 1796, he was ordained over the united Churches of Paris and Stonermouth, which charge he retained for twenty-two years, until his death, March 24th, 1817, in the fifty-second year of his age. His talents were respectable, his pulpit performances unequal, but he was a man of eminent piety and exemplary conduct. He was a zealous and indefatigable minister, and remarkably gifted in prayer. On the appearance of the irregularities of 1802, he was one of the first to see the speck upon the horizon and to sound the alarm.

The Rev. ROBERT STUART was born in Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1772. He could, with his kinsman, Dr. Campbell, trace his lineage back to the Scottish divine, Rutherford. At seventeen years of age he became a subject of the great revival, being first awakened under the preaching of Dr. Alexander at New Monmouth Church; graduated in due time at Liberty Hall; and was licensed to preach by the Lexington Presbytery in 1796. After performing an arduous missionary tour under the direction of the Synod among the mountains, from the headwaters of James' river to the mouth of the Potomac, he chose Kentucky as the field of his labors, and repaired thither in 1798. In December of the same year he was appointed Professor of Languages in Transylvania University, but resigned in the year following and established a private grammar-school in Woodford county. A considerable number of professional men, some of whom rose to eminence in political and ecclesiastical life, received their education at his hands. During the year 1803 he preached to the Church of Salem; and in 1804 took charge of Walnut Hill Church, about six miles east of Lexington, which

he continued to retain for nearly forty years. In company with Dr. Campbell, as a commission of the General Assembly, he visited every Church in the northern part of Kentucky, after the New Light schism; and upon the Cumberland rupture, the southern, in company with Father Rice. He was one of the Commission of Synod to examine into the difficulties of the Cumberland Presbytery, in 1805; and was associated with Mr. Lyle, in 1809, to defend the Synod's proceedings in that matter before the Assembly. Great confidence has always been reposed in his prudence and discretion.

After being informed that as one of the Synod's Commission in the Green river country, Mr. Stuart was named by the opposite party "Moses" for his meekness, the reader will be surprised to learn that the first publication which stung Dr. Holley and his friends to the quick was from his pen. The piece alluded to originally appeared in one of the Lexington prints, and afterwards in McFarland's Pamphleteer, over the signature of "*A Citizen*." The sketch of the New Light schism in the second volume of the Evangelical Record, (1813,) was furnished by him. In 1837, he published a series of interesting "Reminiscences respecting the establishment and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky," in the Western Presbyterian Herald. To his accurate and retentive memory, and obliging communications, the writer of these pages acknowledges himself largely indebted. It has been the lot of this venerable father to survive most of those who stood by his side in the former stormy conflicts of the Church; and all who knew him are ready to re-echo the eulogy of his pastor, the Rev. John Brown, who described him as "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile."

The Rev. ROBERT WILSON was descended from ancestors whom persecution had driven from the North of Ireland to Western Virginia. He was born in 1772. After laboring for some time in Virginia, he entered Kentucky as a missionary in 1798, and on the expiration of his engagement, married and settled in Washington, four miles south of Maysville, where he remained till his death, October 31st, 1822, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was an amiable and estimable man, and characterized through life by great equanimity. While his labors were signally blessed among his own flock, it was through his unwearied ex-

ertions that the Churches of Augusta and Maysville were organized, and those of Smyrna and Flemingsburg owed to him their preservation when languishing without a pastor.

The Rev. JOHN LYLE was a native of Rockbridge county, in the Valley of Virginia. His grandfather, who had emigrated from the North of Ireland before the middle of the last century, and his father, were both ruling elders in the Timber Ridge Church. John Lyle, who was the third of the name in succession, was born October 20th, 1769, and "born again," (according to an entry in the family Bible, in his own handwriting,) August 17th, 1789, in the great revival, when he was nearly twenty years of age. After his conversion he was ardently desirous of studying for the ministry, but met with no encouragement from his family. His father was in moderate circumstances, from his determined aversion to employ slave-labor, and designed all that he could spare for the education of the elder son Andrew, who was his favorite, a young man of fine talents and prepossessing figure. John, on the contrary, had been, from his birth, a feeble child, and had received, in his infancy, accidental injuries which affected his appearance; and being very taciturn and reserved, none gave him credit for even ordinary intellect. His lengthened visage, his ungainly form, and his awkward gait, made him the butt of ridicule in the family, the school, and the neighborhood. His father could not bear the idea of his entering the ministry; and never spoke of it without bitterness, as destined to disgrace the family by a certain failure. He offered to leave him his farm on condition of renouncing his intention: but in case of persistence, he refused to extend the least aid; and true to his word, even after the death of his promising son Andrew, he never gave him so much as a shilling. John inherited all his father's pertinacity, and resolved to achieve his object by his own exertions. He taught a country school, and thus procured the means of a liberal education at Liberty Hall. While in college, he was much persecuted by the looser sort of students, who were addicted to gambling, and hated piety; but his courage and firmness at last secured his peace.

When Mr. Lyle was licensed, in 1795, his performances far exceeded every one's expectations, and a more favorable estimate was thenceforth entertained of his merits. After serving as a missionary for a year in his native State, he visited Ken-

tucky in the same capacity in 1797 ; and in 1800 took charge of Salem Church, where he remained for several years.

Upon the appearance of the bodily exercises in the beginning of the present century, Mr. Lyle was at first at a loss how to regard them ; but soon learned to discriminate between the work of God and animal excitement, and exerted himself to check the excesses. He kept a diary during the years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in which he carefully noted all the incidents that occurred at the sacraments and camp-meetings during that period. This is a truly invaluable document, and, as well as his journal, when one of the Synod's Commission in Green river, has been extremely serviceable in preparing the present history. Mr. Lyle, in consequence of his plain-spoken fidelity, became unpopular to a considerable extent, like others of his brethren. The first instance of disorder which fell under his notice was on the part of two Methodist preachers from Green river, and poor Lyle was so discomposed that he wandered off into the woods to give vent to his feelings. In his agitation he forgot entirely that he had invited several ministerial brethren to dine with him ; and, as he could not be found, they were obliged to sit down to dinner without him. When preaching at Danville, he was interrupted by sounds resembling the barking of a dog, produced by two of Houston's deluded parishioners whom he had brought from Paint Lick. Mr. Lyle expressed his desire, in very decided language, that silence should prevail in the house of God ; and proceeded without further interruption to conclude his discourse, which was from the text, "Bodily exercise profiteth little." Houston was very angry, and reproached him with having stopped the work of God. On another occasion, at Paris, he preached a famous sermon from the text, "Let all things be done decently and in order." This discourse gave great offence to some, while others were delighted ; and it had a powerful effect in checking the tendencies to disorder. In 1805, he was appointed by the Synod to ride two months in the bounds of the Cumberland Presbytery, and afterward to sit as one of the Commission on the difficulties of that body. Of this tour he kept a journal.

Mr. Lyle established a female academy at Paris, which became, under his hands, very flourishing ; embracing from one hundred and fifty pupils to nearly double that number. But about

1809, the trustees obstinately insisted on discarding the Bible, and all religious instruction; and finding his opposition ineffectual, he withdrew. The school immediately declined, and the number dwindled to little more than a score of pupils. He died July 22d, 1825, aged fifty-five years, thirty of which had been passed in the ministry.

Mr. Lyle was of moderate talents, not on a par with Campbell, Cameron, or even Mr. Rice; but his sound judgment and his studious habits supplied the lack of more showy qualities. He was in the constant practice of reading the New Testament in the original. He wrote well-digested skeletons of his sermons, though he never carried them into the pulpit. His matter was sensible, and his manner feeling and earnest; but he owed nothing to the graces of elocution. His disposition was naturally amiable, though he had his weaknesses, and was occasionally betrayed into too passionate warmth. But in the pulpit he possessed, in an uncommon degree, the power of unlocking the fountains of feeling, and awakening a sympathetic interest in the bosoms of his auditors. Even the General Assembly were taken by surprise in 1809, when he defended the Synod in the matter of the Cumberland Presbyterians. Bursting into tears he made a most impassioned appeal, and the Assembly were so affected, that their final judgment was very different from that to which they had at first inclined. His faithful, earnest, and affectionate style of preaching was very much blessed. On one occasion, at Mount Pleasant, the Rev. William L. McCalla noted the names of thirty-three persons impressed by the sermon, thirty-one of whom afterward became respectable members of the Church. He had a particular tact for benefiting young preachers, whom he delighted to take with him on missionary excursions, and, at times, his conversation would be so heavenly, and his heart so filled with the Spirit of God, that the company felt as if transported to the apostolic days.

Besides the eight Virginia missionaries, the Presbytery of Transylvania received large accessions from the year 1795 until its erection into a Synod in 1802. Sixteen licentiates were ordained to the full work of the Gospel ministry, and thirteen clergymen, who had exercised their office elsewhere, became residents of the State. With two or three exceptions the majority were from Virginia or North Carolina.

The Rev. JOSEPH P. HOWE came from North Carolina in 1794, and was ordained July 29th, 1795, over Little Mountain (Mount Sterling) and Springfield.* He was a good man, and took a conspicuous part in the Great Revival. Although he was tedious and wearisome as a preacher, he excelled in exhortation, and prayed and sang well. In this way he led the meetings to great advantage. There is a diversity of gifts, but the same Spirit. At his death, in 1830, he bequeathed the sum of two hundred and sixty-seven dollars to Centre College.

The Rev. JAMES WELCH was licensed July 27th, 1793, and recommended to the Synod of Virginia as a missionary. After laboring for a year in the bounds of the Redstone Presbytery, and declining a call in Mason county, Kentucky, he was ordained pastor of the Lexington and Georgetown Churches, Feb. 17th, 1796, in which charge he continued till 1804. He was obliged to practise medicine for the support of his family. In 1799, he was appointed Professor of Ancient Languages in Transylvania University, which station he filled for several years.†

The Rev. ARCHIBALD CAMERON was a native of Scotland; but was brought to this country at an early age by his parents, who were respectable persons for intelligence and character, of the Clan Cameron. They settled in Nelson county, Kentucky. Archibald was the youngest of six children. He received the best education the country could afford, and was a thorough mathematician and classical scholar. At nineteen he connected himself with the church under Mr. Templin; and studied theology under Father Rice. He was ordained pastor of Simpson's Creek, Bullskin, and Achor congregations, June 2, 1796. In 1803, he relinquished them to take charge of the Shelbyville and Mulberry Churches, with which he continued till his death, in 1836. His labors were spread over a wide region, now occupied by the congregations of Shelbyville, Mulberry, Big Spring, Six Miles, Shiloh, and Olivet, and embracing a circuit of from ten to fifteen miles. But the great body of his people were in the habit of attending worship, whatever the distance.

Mr. Cameron was a man of blunt and abrupt manners, and like John Knox, never hesitated to call things by their right

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. p. 135; ii. p. 201. Min. Syn. Ky. vol. iv. p. 186.

† Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. pp. 94, 99, 132; ii. pp. 72, 86. Bishop, p. 152.

names. He was marked by a certain nobleness and independence of thought, and scorned whatever was mean, low, or intriguing. He was of unbending orthodoxy, great shrewdness, and keen powers of satire. In the difficulties and schisms which the Church had to encounter, he was always found on the side of sound doctrine and good order. He was one of the Commission of Synod in the memorable affair of the Cumberland Presbytery, in 1805. In the Church courts, and with his pen, he proved himself a staunch champion of orthodoxy, and a powerful match for any adversary. In the prime of life he was distinguished by a strong native eloquence; and as a doctrinal and experimental preacher, was excelled by none.

His published writings are, 1. *The Faithful Steward*; against baptizing adults who do not give evidence of faith and repentance, or the children of such adults; 1806, pp. 53. 2. *The Monitor*, on Church government, discipline, &c.; 1806, pp. 109. 3. *An Appeal to the Scriptures*, on the design and extent of the Atonement; 1811, pp. 79. 4. *A Discourse between the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and a Preacher in that society, who holds the doctrine of an indefinite or universal atonement*; 1814, pp. 24. 5. *A Defence of the Doctrines of Grace*, a series of letters in reply to Judge Davidge's "Advocates of a Partial Gospel;" 1816, pp. 49. 6. *A Reply to some Arminian "Questions on Divine Predestination,"* and to a doggerel poem, "The Trial of Cain;" 1822, pp. 36. 7. *An Anonymous Letter on Fore-ordination*, pp. 12. 8. Two pamphlets addressed to the Rev. George Light, a Methodist minister. The lucid sketch of the Presbytery of Transylvania, in 1808, for the General Assembly's Committee appointed to prepare a History of the Presbyterian Church, was from Mr. Cameron's pen.

The Rev. WILLIAM ROBINSON was from Buffalo congregation in Pennsylvania, and was ordained over Mount Pleasant and Indian Creek Churches, August 11th, 1796, at a salary of £110. In 1802, he resigned his charge, and was recommended to the General Assembly to ride as a missionary north-west of the Ohio river. In 1804, he was dismissed to Washington Presbytery.*

The Rev. SAMUEL FINLEY, from Wax Haw, in South Carolina,

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. p. 107, and Filed Papers. Min. W. Lex. Pby. vol. i. pp. 76, 95.

was licensed August 1st, 1795, and ordained April 12th, 1797, over the Church of Stanford, where he also taught a school. In 1807, the connection was dissolved.*

The Rev. MATTHEW HOUSTON was ordained over Paint Lick and Silver Creek Churches, as the successor of Cary Allen, April 14th, 1797. In 1802, the relation was dissolved by mutual consent, but he continued to preach as a stated supply.† He afterward became a Shaker.

The Rev. JOHN DUNLAVY, from Western Pennsylvania, was ordained over Lee's Creek, Big Braeken, and North Bracken, Nov. 8th, 1797. The last two congregations being broken up by frequent removals, he confined his attention to the former in 1798. He finally settled as pastor of the Eagle Creek congregation in Ohio, between Ripley and West Union. He also became a Shaker.‡

The Rev. JOHN HOWE was received as a candidate, Oct. 3d, 1793, and was called to Beaver Creek and Little Barren, April 10th, 1798. He is still living, and has for many years been connected with the Church of Greensburg.§

The Rev. RICHARD McNEMAR was received from West Pennsylvania as a candidate, in 1795, at which time he was licensed to exhort publicly, together with Andrew Steel, under the limitations of not exhorting oftener than once in two weeks, nor without carefully digesting the matter of their exhortations, and further, of not exceeding forty minutes in length. He was ordained pastor of Cabin Creek, Aug. 2d, 1798. He afterwards became a leading New Light and Shaker, and is still living.||

The Rev. JAMES VANCE, a licentiate from Winchester Presbytery, was ordained over Middletown and Pennsylvania Run, Nov. 6th, 1799. He also supplied the congregation at Louisville, at a later period.¶

The Rev. JAMES KEMPER was ordained about the year 1795, pastor of the Churches of Columbia and Cincinnati, which he resigned the year following.**

The Rev. SAMUEL B. ROBERTSON was ordained Oct. 23d,

* Min. Trans. Phy. vol i. p. 205; iii. p. 142.

† Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. p. 146; iii. p. 45.

‡ Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. p. 211. § Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. pp. 71, 176.

|| Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. pp. 82, 206.

¶ Min. Trans. Phy. vol. iii. p. 9; iv. 190. ** Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. p. 122.

1801, pastor of the congregations of Cane Run and New Providence, where he continued to labor till 1811, when he removed to Columbia, in Adair county. He afterward took charge of Lebanon Church. He is still living.*

The Rev. JOHN BOWMAN, a licentiate from North Carolina, had leave to itinerate in 1795; and it is probable he was ordained within two or three years after. In 1809, he fell under suspicion of heresy and schism, as a follower of Mr. Stone, and in 1810 was suspended by the Presbytery of Transylvania, for refusing to appear and answer to the charge.†

The Rev. JOHN THOMPSON came from North Carolina, in 1795, and had liberty from the Presbytery of West Lexington to exhort, April 17th, 1799. In October following, he was licensed to preach, and in 1800 bent his steps to the region north-west of the Ohio river.‡ In the New Light schism, he went off with Stone and Marshall, but like Marshall, he afterward returned. His cure was not, it would seem, as radical as that of his compeer, for in the late great schism of 1838, he went off again with the New School party.

The Rev. JAMES BLYTHE, D.D., had been in the field some years before any of those whose ordination has just been recorded. The conspicuous part he sustained in the history of the West, requires a more detailed biography. He was born in North Carolina, in 1765, and received his education at Hampden Sidney College, under President John Blair Smith. For a time, he was the only professor of religion among the under-graduates, till the awakening of Cary Allen and his comrades, when his room became the rendezvous for their prayer-meetings. He was licensed by Orange Presbytery, and in the fall of 1791 he visited Kentucky, and preached at Paint Lick and other places. July 25th, 1793, he was ordained pastor of Pisgah and Clear Creek Churches; but soon after, yielding to the prejudices of the times, resigned the charge, and for a series of years, his name is found in the minutes as being annually appointed a stated supply by the Presbytery. In this loose connection he ministered to the Pisgah Church for upwards of forty years.§

* Bishop's Rice, p. 149. † Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. p. 66; iii. p. 218.

‡ Min. W. Lex. Pby. vol. i. pp. 4, 16, 26.

§ Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 9; iv. p. 17, *et seq.* From an early period, a prejudice existed in the West, and in some places still exists, against the formal installation of pastors. The reason of this antipathy was two-fold. The peo-

When the Presbytery of Transylvania were making strenuous efforts to establish the Kentucky Academy, Dr. Blythe and Father Rice were sent as commissioners to the General Assembly, in 1795, and to act also as solicitors in the Eastern States. They obtained upwards of \$10,000, of which amount President Washington and Vice-President Adams contributed one hundred dollars each, and Aaron Burr fifty. Dr. Blythe was received with the greatest courtesy by the President, who spent some time in making inquiries into the state of literature in Kentucky, and expressed a warm interest in the subject. When this Academy was merged, in 1798, in the University of Transylvania, Dr. Blythe was appointed Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Geography; and on the resignation of Mr. Moore subsequently, fulfilled for twelve or fifteen years, the duties of Acting President. The salary of a professor was then five hundred dollars. When Dr. Holley was elected President, in 1818, Dr. Blythe was transferred to the Chair of Chemistry in the Medical Department, which situation he retained till 1831, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. L. P. Yandell.

Meantime, he was associated for some years as colleague with Mr. Welch in the charge of the Lexington Church, but the co-pastorship proved very far from harmonious, and at one period the interference of the Presbytery was required for their reconciliation. Dr. Blythe took a very decided stand in favor of orthodoxy and order when the New Light extravagances made their appearance, in consequence of which his popularity and

ple were reluctant to enter into a relation which could not be dissolved except after some delay, and at the discretion of the Presbytery, such was their love of independence. In addition, they were apprehensive that whatever deaths or removals might occur in a congregation, the remainder, however reduced in number, would still be held bound for the salary stipulated in the call. In accordance with this feeling, we find Trustees and Deacons required, in 1796, to give to persons removing out of the bounds, a full discharge of their obligations to pay the minister, arrears excepted. (Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. p. 87.) Mr. Houston also relinquished his pastoral relation to Paint Lick and Silver Creek congregations, for the above reasons, in 1802, continuing to supply them by a mutual and private contract. (Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 45.) So also Mr. S. Finley relinquished his pastoral relation to Stanford, in 1807. (Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 142.) The evils of this loose and disorderly connection, forced themselves on the consideration of the Presbytery of West Lexington in 1807, and led them to express their decided disapprobation of the plan, and to make it a standing order to enjoin the presentation of regular calls. (Min. W. Lex. Pby. vol. i. p. 202.) The injunction was not universally obeyed however. Repeated intimations are found in the Presbyterial Records, of the scanty and ill-paid salaries of the clergy, and urgent calls for amendment.

influence were impaired for a time, even in his own congregation.

He was strongly opposed to the war of 1812, in which he lost a promising son at the massacre of the River Raisin; and, in consequence of his political opinions, became involved in an unpleasant altercation with William L. McCalla, then a candidate for licensure, and a warm advocate of the opposite party. This led to his being arraigned by Mr. McCalla at the bar of his Presbytery, on a variety of charges, some of which set forth that Dr. Blythe had threatened to oppose the licensure of such a "fire-brand," on account of his political sentiments in regard to the war, mobs, effigy-burning, and the like; while others accused him of falsehood, avarice, indifference to the welfare of the Church, perversion of scripture texts, pride, and other personal sins.* The trial came on in December, 1813, but was interrupted by a curious circumstance. The prosecutor insisted, that while each witness was examined, the rest should withdraw, according to the old constitutional rule. But as all the standing members of Presbytery were summoned as witnesses, the enforcement of the rule would have left no clerical judges. To his proposal, to except as many as would form a quorum, the defendant demurred, on the ground that he would require their testimony himself. He was willing that all should be examined in presence of each other. The prosecutor, however, being tenacious of the point, the whole case was referred to the Synod for adjudication.†

At their meeting, in September, 1814, the Synod took up the reference, when Dr. Blythe was honorably acquitted. In regard to the allegations of pride, and harsh treatment of the prosecutor, he attempted no exculpation, and made suitable acknowledgments.‡

Anxious to promote the diffusion of Christian intelligence, Dr. Blythe commenced, in 1812, the publication of a monthly periodical, called, "The Evangelical Record and Western Review," which, however, did not survive the second volume. It contained a variety of interesting items.§

In November, 1831, Dr. Blythe attended the Convention of

* Min. W. Lex. Pby., vol. ii. pp. 93, 128, 129, 146.

† Min. W. Lex. Pby., vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.

‡ Min. Syn. Ky., vol. ii. pp. 74, 85, 86.

§ It was printed by that enterprising publisher, the late lamented Thomas T. Skillman, who was carried off by the cholera in 1833.

Delegates from the Presbyteries, which met in Cincinnati, at the suggestion of the General Assembly, on the subject of Domestic Missions, and was chosen Moderator. In 1834, his name was found among the signers to the memorable Act and Testimony; and in 1835, he was one of the Standing Committee of the Convention called at Pittsburgh by those signers, and preached before the Convention on the first day of the session at their request. In 1837, he was again found on the alert, watching over the purity of the Church, and attending the Convention of ministers and elders, to deliberate on some plan of reform, which met in Philadelphia, on the 11th of May; and of this body he was elected temporary chairman, to preside over its organization. In 1832, he was elected President of South Hanover College, in Indiana, a manual-labor institution, under the care of the Synod of Indiana; and under his administration the college rose at once to a high degree of prosperity, numbering upwards of two hundred students. This station he held with distinguished ability for several years; giving, during part of the time, gratuitous instruction in the theological school in the same place. Dr. Blythe's last public service was his embarking with great enthusiasm in a scheme for pervading the whole country more effectually with the Gospel, by inducing each minister to devote a certain portion of his time in each year to the supply of destitute places. To this plan he obtained the sanction of the Synods of Indiana and Kentucky, and of the General Assembly; and where it went into operation, it was attended with marked advantage. This venerable servant of Christ died in 1842, aged seventy-seven years. He had the satisfaction of seeing all his children embraced in the Church, and several sons and sons-in-law in the ministry.

Dr. Blythe's pen was not prolific. Except two or three printed sermons, and the Evangelical Record, he has bequeathed no permanent memento of himself to posterity. As a preacher, he was full of energy and animation, in his earlier career; * in his latter years he yielded more to the softer emotions. The Family was his favorite theme, and he never grew weary of expatiating on

* An amusing illustration of this he was fond of relating himself: After preaching one night in Virginia, he overheard two men conversing about the sermon. "That was thunder and lightning," said one. "Yes," replied the other, "a great deal of thunder, but very little lightning!"

the quiet attractions of the domestic circle. It was from his own well-managed and happy household he derived his inspiration. Although neither a profound nor highly-accomplished scholar, his native strength of character, prompt decision, and practical turn, enabled him to acquit himself creditably in every situation. But it was in deliberative bodies, and the courts of the Church, that these qualities gave him a marked ascendancy, to which his portly figure, commanding appearance, bushy eyebrows, and magisterial manner, contributed not a little. His name appears the twenty-eighth in order, in 1816, in the list of Moderators of the General Assembly.

In the year 1796, the Rev. Messrs. CRAIGHEAD, MCGEE and STONE, from North Carolina—all of whom will receive a fuller notice in a fitter place—the Rev. WILLIAM MAHON, from Virginia, and the Rev. ISAAC TULL, from the Presbytery of Lewistown, were received as members of Transylvania Presbytery.

Mr. Mahon took charge of New Providence Church, but was brought before the Presbytery, in 1798, on charges of cruelty to a female slave, and of factious proceedings in the congregation, and was admonished to maintain a stricter guard over his temper. The people being dissatisfied with him, the connection was dissolved by Presbytery, on the 5th of October, of the same year. He was finally deposed for drunkenness in 1804. He applied in 1812 to be restored; but the Presbytery not being satisfied of his reformation refused his request.*

Mr. Tull was received April 12th, 1796, and for two years had charge of Green Creek and Pleasant Point. He was a good but weak man; punctual and steady, but an indifferent preacher. Domestic difficulties attracted the notice of Presbytery, and a slanderous accusation was laid against him; but on investigation he was exonerated from blame. He died in Cincinnati, in 1812.†

The Rev. ROBERT FINLEY, originally from South Carolina, was received from Redstone Presbytery, Feb. 20th, 1792, with a high character, which he soon contrived to forfeit. Rumors of habitual inebriety coming to the ears of the Presbytery, they insisted on a trial. He was pertinacious for an investigation by a committee, and renouncing their jurisdiction, he was suspended

* Min. Trans. Pby., vol. ii. pp. 108, 198; iii. p. 103; iv. p. 18.

† Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 92, 223.

in 1795. He made concessions, and was restored, but again proving contumacious, was again suspended, and continuing nevertheless to preach, was finally deposed, October 6th, 1796.*

The Rev. JOHN EVANS FINLEY, from Newcastle Presbytery, was received Feb. 11th, 1795;† the Rev. PETER WILSON, from Abingdon Presbytery, in 1797;‡ the Rev. WILLIAM SPEER, from Carlisle Presbytery, in 1798, who settled in New Hope, (Chillicothe);§ the Rev. JAMES BALCH, from Abingdon, in 1799;|| the Rev. WILLIAM HODGE, who was settled over Shiloh;¶ the Rev. JOHN RANKIN, who was settled over Gasper;** the Rev. SAMUEL McADOW, who was also settled in the Cumberland region;†† all from North Carolina, in 1800; the Rev. SAMUEL DONNELL, from West Pennsylvania,‡‡ in 1801; and in 1802§§ the Rev. JEREMIAH ABELL, from the Methodist society, afterwards suspended for a breach of the seventh commandment.

The growth of Transylvania Presbytery, and the extent of ground it covered, necessarily called for its entire remodelling. Accordingly, March 27th, 1799, with the consent of the Synod of Virginia, it was broken up into three Presbyteries, and its twenty-six members distributed as follows. TRANSYLVANIA PRESBYTERY, bounded north-east by the Kentucky river, north and north-west by the Ohio river, on the south comprehending all the settlements on Cumberland river and its tributaries, comprised ten ministers, viz: Messrs. Rice, Craighead, Templin, McGready, Cameron, Samuel Finley, Houston, McGee, and John Howe.

WEST LEXINGTON, so called to distinguish it from Lexington in Virginia, bounded south and south-west by the Kentucky river, north and north-west by the Ohio river, north and north-east by the Main Licking river, consisted of nine ministers, viz: Messrs. Crawford, Shannon, Tull, Marshall, Blythe, Joseph P. Howe, Welch, Rannels, and Robinson.

WASHINGTON comprised the remaining part of Kentucky, lying

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. pp. 60, 174, 207; ii. p. 81.

† Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. p. 154. ‡ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. p. 165.

§ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. p. 178. || Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 5, 18.

¶ Smith's Hist. of Cumb. Presb. Ch. p. 667.

** Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 11.

†† Smith, p. 673. ‡‡ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 28.

§§ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 66.

north-east of Main Licking, and the settlements on the north-west side of the Ohio river, and consisted of seven ministers, viz: Messrs. Peter Wilson, Kemper, Campbell, John E. Finley, Speer, Dunlavy, and McNemar.

Before parting, it was strongly recommended that the delegates to the approaching Assembly from the new Presbyteries should be instructed to pray for their erection into a Synod. The Presbyteries met in the month following; Transylvania at Cane Run, on Tuesday, April 9th, and was opened with a sermon from Mr. Rice, who was immediately after chosen Moderator, and Mr. Cameron, Clerk. West Lexington met at Lexington, on Tuesday, April 16th, and was opened with a sermon from Mr. Crawford, who was elected Moderator, and Mr. Welch, Clerk. Washington met on Tuesday, April 9th, at Johnson Fork Meeting-House, and was opened with a sermon from Mr. Wilson.* The desire to be constituted into a separate Synod was not gratified until the year 1802, at which time the roll contained thirty-seven names. Thus it appears, that in sixteen years from the arrival of the first clergyman in the field, the number had increased to twenty-six, distributed into three Presbyteries; and in nineteen years from that time, they were formed into a Synod, consisting of thirty-seven members. If we add to these, Messrs. Allen, McClure, Rankin, Speer, and Robert Finley, together with several licentiates, we will find that about fifty Presbyterian preachers had had an opportunity of preaching the gospel in Kentucky within the last-mentioned space of time.

Had they all been men of marked ability, devoted piety, and unblemished reputation, the salutary influence they might have exerted in moulding the character and institutions of the growing West would have been incalculable. Unhappily, with two or three shining exceptions, the majority were men of barely respectable talents, and a few hardly above mediocrity; and so far from being patterns of flaming zeal and apostolic devotion, a dull formality seems to have been their general characteristic. That Father Rice had no very exalted opinion of his early fellow-laborers, is evident from the description he has given of them, in his autobiography, as men of sound principles and some

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 229, 231, 252; iii. p. 1. Min. W. Lex. Pby vol. i. pp. 1, 5.

information, but deficient in the spirit of the Gospel.* That this picture is not overcharged, must appear from the melancholy fact, gathered from an inspection of the records, that nearly half the entire number of preachers were, at one time or other, subjected to church censures more or less severe; several being cut off for heresy or schism, two deposed for intemperance, one suspended for licentiousness, several rebuked for wrangling, and others for other improprieties unbecoming the gravity or dignity of the clerical character. While, therefore, one half of the number were godly and irreproachable, and some few fitted to adorn their profession in any age or country, it must be admitted that there was a portion whose influence was deleterious where it was not inefficient. This is a development fraught with solemn instruction, warning the Church that instead of sending to new and promising settlements her weakest men, as if anything were good enough for such stations, it would be far wiser to send the most efficient laborers, picked men, who would leave the impress of their own commanding virtues upon succeeding generations.

A more fatal mistake can scarcely be committed, than to suppose that a mere handful of half-educated, feeble-minded missionaries will do for the West. That shrewd and independent race require, on the contrary, men whose well-trained intellect, common sense, ready resources, and commanding influence, can inspire respect. It were well to note the wiser policy of the Hebrew Commonwealth. While only seventeen hundred Levites were retained among the denser settlements of the bulk of the tribes in the heart of Palestine, not less than twenty-seven hundred were distributed among the two and a half tribes scattered through the remote frontier region on the farther side of Jordan. The frontiers, instead of being neglected on account of their remoteness, are the very quarters which should be the most sedulously guarded, and receive a double share of supervision and attention. The men needed to occupy posts of such difficulty and danger, should be men of might, like David's captains in the hold in the wilderness, "Men of war fit for the battle, that can handle shield and buckler, whose faces are like the faces of lions, and as swift as the roes upon the mountains."

* Bishop's Rice, p. 69.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVIVAL OF 1800—CAMP-MEETINGS.

ON the eve of the nineteenth century, notwithstanding the increase of ministers and churches, the prospect was sufficiently gloomy to appall both the Christian and the patriot through the operation of the causes already enumerated. The population of the State advanced with incredible rapidity, and soon outstripped the supply of the means of grace. Worldly-mindedness, infidelity, and dissipation threatened to deluge the land, and sweep away all vestiges of piety and morality. The rising generation were growing up in almost universal ignorance of religious obligation. The elder church-members were gradually dying off, and were replaced by no recruits from the ranks of the young. Except a little Goshen here and there, the shadow of night was gathering over the land. At this juncture, when hope was ready to expire, an unlooked-for and astonishing change suddenly took place. This event was the GREAT REVIVAL OF 1800, so called from its wide extent and influence; and which, after all necessary allowances for the disorders which deformed it, was, beyond controversy, attended with signal benefits.

This extraordinary excitement is styled the Revival of 1800, because its most remarkable development occurred during that year. A preparatory work, however, had been going on for some time previous. The zealous labors of the Virginia missionaries, and others of the younger clergy, were not without some effect, and there was yet a remnant in the land, that had neither bowed the knee to Mammon nor Thomas Paine. Besides these scattered and limited instances, an unusual attention to religion had been awakened in the south-western section of the

State, in what was known as the Green river country, and the Cumberland settlements, a year or two previous.

This excitement commenced in the Gasper river congregation, and extended thence to the congregations of Muddy and Red rivers, in Logan county;* all, at that time, under the pastoral charge of Rev. James McGready. Mr. McGready was one of the Sons of Thunder, a Boanerges both in manner and matter, and an uncompromising reprovcr of sin in every shape. The curses of the law lost none of their severity in falling from his lips; and, like Mirabeau, the fierceness of his invectives derived additional terror from the hideousness of his visage and the thunder of his tones. He had left a congregation in Orange county, North Carolina, but a few months previous, in consequence of the odium which his unsparing censures had drawn upon him from the ungodly. Some of his former hearers having removed to Kentucky, and forwarded him an invitation to become their pastor, he resolved to accept the call; and accordingly arrived in the fall of 1796, being now about thirty-three years of age, and full of fiery zeal. It was not long until the effect of his impassioned preaching was visible. Regeneration, faith, and repentance were his favorite topics; and an anxious and general concern was awakened among his hearers on the subject of experimental religion. That information was much needed on this point, we may gather from the character of the inquiries frequently made of him by his flock, such as, "Is Religion a sensible thing?" "If I were converted would I feel it, and know it?" During the summer of 1797, and that of '98, there was considerable solicitude evinced in these congregations, but it soon subsided, and was succeeded by as great an apathy. In the last instance, Mr. McGready ascribed the change to the active and discouraging opposition of the Rev.

* The region lying south of Green river, and thence called the *Green river country*, though since divided into several counties, was then all comprehended in Logan county.—See Benedict, vol. ii. p. 241. Of this region Russellville was the heart and capital, and many distinguished individuals commenced their career there; Governors Edwards, R. Crittenden, Breathitt, James T. Morehead, McLean, and Call; John J. Crittenden, Attorney General of the U. S.; Chief Justice Bibb, Secretary of the Treasury of the U. S.; Chief Justice Ewing, Col. A. Butler, S. P. Sharp, Charles Morehead, Frank Johnson, Joseph Ficklin, Judge Davis, Major-general Boyle, Surgeon-general McReynolds, United States Army, &c.

James Balch, who was then visiting the neighborhood, and who turned the whole into ridicule.*

Among the means adopted by this zealous pastor to stimulate his flock, was a written covenant, binding all who appended their signatures, to observe a *Monthly Fast*, a *Twilight concert of prayer*, and a *Sunrise concert*. The twilight concert has been often renewed in late years in the West, and has been a very popular measure in seasons of revival.†

The summer of 1799 witnessed a renewal of the excitement, which did not, however, partake of the transient character of the preceding years, but continued to grow and deepen until it reached its height, in 1800 and 1801. In the words of Mr. McGready, it exceeded everything his eyes had ever beheld upon earth, and to which all that had preceded was but an introduction, as a few drops before a mighty rain.‡ Its first manifestation occurred during a sacramental occasion at Red river, in July, which was attended by Mr. McGready, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Hodge, and William McGee, Presbyterian preachers, and John McGee, brother of the last-named gentleman, who was a Methodist preacher. The public services were animated, and tears flowed freely; but nothing special was noticed until Monday. While Mr. Hodge was preaching, a woman, at the extreme end of the house, unable to repress the violence of her emotions, gave vent to them in loud cries. During the intermission which succeeded the services, the people showed no disposition to leave their seats, but wept in silence all over the house.

Such was the state of things when John McGee, the Methodist, rose in his turn to speak. Too much agitated to preach, he expressed his belief that there was a greater than he preaching; and exhorted the people to let the Lord God omnipotent reign in their hearts, and to submit to him, and their souls should live. Upon this, many broke silence, and the renewed vociferations of the female before mentioned were tremendous. The Methodist preacher, whose feelings were now wrought up to the highest pitch, after a brief debate in his own mind, came to the conclusion that it was his duty to disregard the usual orderly

* McGready's Narr. of Revival of 1800. Posth. works, pp. 7, 8. Smith's Hist. of Cumb. Presb. pp. 564, 567.

† Smith's Hist. Cumb. Presb. p. 565.

‡ McGready's Narr. Works, p. 11.

habits of the denomination, and passed along the aisle, shouting and exhorting vehemently. The clamor and confusion were increased tenfold; the flame was blown to its height, screams for mercy were mingled with shouts of ecstasy, and a universal agitation pervaded the whole multitude; who were bowed before it as a field of grain waves before the wind. Now followed prayer and exhortation; and the ministers found their strength soon taxed to the utmost to keep pace with the demands of this intense excitement.*

From this time such crowds flocked to the sacraments, as these occasions were called, that sufficient accommodations could not be procured for them, the neighborhood being sparsely settled. They therefore came in wagons, loaded with provisions, and fitted up for temporary lodging. Such was the origin of **CAMP-MEETINGS**; an expedient which owed its birth to necessity, although much abused in after times, and of late fallen into great disrepute.

The first regular **CAMP-MEETING** was held in the vicinity of Gasper river Church, in July, 1800. Mr. McGready had taken great pains to circulate the information, previous to the time appointed, that he expected the people to come prepared to encamp on the ground; and the whole country, and ministers especially, were earnestly invited to attend and witness the wonderful scene that was anticipated.† Impelled by curiosity, a great concourse assembled, from distances of 40, 50, and 100 miles. A regular encampment was formed. Some occupied tents, while others slept in covered wagons. The whole were so arranged as to form a hollow square; the interior of which was fitted up for public worship. Near the centre was the *stand*, a rude platform or temporary pulpit, constructed of logs, and surmounted by a handrail. The body of the area was occupied by parallel rows of roughly hewn logs, designed as seats for the audience.

The meeting lasted four days, from Friday until Tuesday morning. The leading ministers present, were Messrs. McGrea-

* John McGee's Letter to Mr. Douglass. Methodist Episcopal Herald, vol. ii. p. 148. It is observable that while the Methodists give some prominence to this man in the work, and they are borne out by his own statement, Mr. McGready does not so much as mention his name.

† Smith's Hist. Cumb. Presb. p. 573.

dy, William McGee, pastor of Beech Church, and Hodge, pastor of Shiloh ; both the last-mentioned from the Cumberland settlements.

Nothing occurred worthy of note until Saturday evening, when a casual conversation of two pious females attracted the attention of the bystanders, and the fervor of their enthusiasm was communicated, by a rapid sympathy, through the whole multitude. The camp resounded with sobs and cries ; and the ministers spent the night in passing from one group to another, who were penetrated with pungent convictions of sin, and anxious to obtain relief. The interest, once awakened, grew more and more powerful, till, at the close of the meeting, forty-five individuals were numbered as hopeful converts. It deserves to be noticed that, at a subsequent period, these persons afforded every evidence, by their conduct, of genuine conversion.* Among them, also, were some little children, who expressed themselves in a manner so rational, and withal so heavenly, that Mr. McGready declares he was filled with astonishment.†

Mr. Hodge, together with numbers from the Cumberland settlements, being present on this occasion, it is not surprising that through their means a similar excitement should agitate that region. The revival soon spread over the country, as far as Nashville and Knoxville.‡

During the year 1800, ten sacraments were held in the Green river and Cumberland river settlements, all more or less partaking of the character of those already described ; the result of which was, that three hundred and forty converts were added to the churches.§

This may be as proper a place as any to remark, that it was but a part of the Presbyterian clergy of the lower settlements that were engaged in the measures already described. These were but five in number, Messrs. McGready, Hodge, McGee, McAdow, and Rankin. All the rest of their brethren disapproved and discountenanced the work from its commencement, as spurious.||

Camp-meetings being once introduced, the plan spread like wildfire. One after another was held in rapid succession. The

* Smith's Hist. Cumb. Presb. p. 595.

† McGready's Works, p. 10.

‡ Smith, p. 576.

§ McGready, p. 11.

|| Smith, p. 580.

woods and paths seemed alive with people, and the number reported as attending is almost incredible. The laborer quitted his task ; Age snatched his crutch ; Youth forgot his pastime ; the plough was left in the furrow ; the deer enjoyed a respite upon the mountains ; business of all kinds was suspended ; dwelling-houses were deserted ; whole neighborhoods were emptied ; bold hunters and sober matrons, young men, maidens, and little children, flocked to the common centre of attraction ; every difficulty was surmounted, every risk ventured, to be present at the camp-meeting.

The new device was speedily adopted in the region south of Kentucky, then called the Cumberland Settlements, now Tennessee ; but this was not destined to be the limit of its triumphant progress. Early in the following year it was introduced into the middle, or northern sections of this State, and was carried thence across the Ohio into the North-western Territory ; while on the other hand, it reached the South, and extended into both the Carolinas, through the agency of some persons going thither from Kentucky.*

The appellation "General Camp-Meetings," now came into use, owing to the following cause : The Methodists early took part in the Green river revival with the Presbyterians, and the connection gradually grew more intimate. They united in all the camp-meetings, and before long gave a decided tone to the measures and doctrinal views brought forward on those occasions. Hence, although each denomination sometimes operated apart, the customary method was to hold their meetings conjointly, under the name of General Camp-Meetings; by which it was signified that all Christian denominations, *in general*, were at liberty to participate, whether Methodists, Baptists, or Presbyterians.†

When these meetings were introduced into the upper part of Kentucky, they were held in rapid succession—almost semi-monthly. Between May and August, 1801, no less than six were held, varying in continuance from four days to a week ; viz. at Cabin Creek, Concord,‡ Pleasant Point, Indian Creek,

* McNemar's Hist. of the Kentucky Revival, p. 26. Ramsay's History of South Carolina.

† Gosp. Herald [Methodist], vol. ii. p. 170.

‡ At the meeting at Concord, where 4,000 people were on the ground, McNemar states that seven Presbyterian ministers were present, four of whom

and Cane Ridge, in Kentucky, and at Eagle Creek, Adams county, Ohio. The scenes witnessed on these occasions differed little from each other, or from those already described on Green river. The preaching was pungent, and the people violently agitated. Children of ten and twelve years were frequently prominent actors. The spectacle of persons falling down in a paroxysm of feeling, first exhibited at Gasper river Church, in August, 1799,* became now so common as to receive a distinct title, and to be known as the *Falling Exercise*.†

But as the General Camp-Meeting at Cane Ridge, which began on the 6th of August,‡ 1801, and lasted a week, was the most noted, as well for the wonderful transactions witnessed, as for the incredible number present, a particular description of it shall be given.

Cane Ridge was a beautiful spot, in the vicinity of a country church of the same name then under the pastoral care of Mr. Stone, in the county of Bourbon, about seven miles from Paris ; it was finely shaded and watered, and admirably adapted to the purpose of an encampment. A great central area was cleared and levelled, 200 or 300 yards in length, with the preachers' stand at one end, and a spacious tent, capable of containing a large assembly, and designed as a shelter from heat or rain. The adjoining ground was laid off in regular streets, along which the tents were pitched, while the church building was appropriated for the preachers' lodge. The concourse in attendance was prodigious, being computed by a revolutionary officer, who was accustomed to estimate encampments, to amount to not less than 20,000 souls. Mr. Lyle says that, according to the calcu-

spoke against the work until the fourth day, when they withdrew their opposition, and acknowledged it to be a genuine work of God. Of course, after that, the whole seven concurred in expressing their approbation. This statement is undoubtedly to be taken with some qualification, as at no time could seven of the Presbyterian clergy be found in the northern counties who were cordial advocates of all the extravagances of the time. We must be pardoned if we hesitate to vouch for the credibility of a writer who is so much under the influence of an enthusiastic imagination, as to pen, after the above statistics, the following miraculous story : " On this occasion, no sex or color, class or description, were exempted from the pervading influence of the Spirit ; even from the age of *eight months* (!) to sixty years, there were evident subjects of this marvellous operation." McNemar, p. 24.

* McGready's Narr. Works, p. x. Smith, p. 569.

† McNemar, pp. 23-26.

‡ Dr. Cleland says it was June. See letter in Bibl. Rep., vol. vi. p. 340.

lation of one of the elders, there were 1,100 communicants present. Others said 800.*

Here were collected all the elements calculated to affect the imagination. The spectacle presented at night was one of the wildest grandeur. The glare of the blazing camp-fires falling on a dense assemblage of heads simultaneously bowed in adoration, and reflected back from long ranges of tents upon every side ; hundreds of candles and lamps suspended among the trees, together with numerous torches flashing to and fro, throwing an uncertain light upon the tremulous foliage, and giving an appearance of dim and indefinite extent to the depth of the forest ; the solemn chanting of hymns swelling and falling on the night wind ; the impassioned exhortations ; the earnest prayers ; the sobs, shrieks, or shouts, bursting from persons under intense agitation of mind ; the sudden spasms which seized upon scores, and unexpectedly dashed them to the ground ;—all conspired to invest the scene with terrific interest, and to work up the feelings to the highest pitch of excitement.

When we add to this, the lateness of the hour to which the exercises were protracted, sometimes till 2 in the morning, or longer ;—the eagerness of curiosity, stimulated for so long a time previous ;—the reverent enthusiasm which ascribed the strange contortions witnessed to the mysterious agency of God ;—the fervent and sanguine temper of some of the preachers ;—and, lastly, the boiling zeal of the Methodists, who could not refrain from shouting aloud during sermon, and shaking hands all round afterwards, in what Mr. Lyle calls “a singing ecstasy,”† and who did everything in their power to heap fuel on the fire ;—take all this into consideration, and it will abate our surprise very much when informed that the number of persons who fell was computed by the Rev. James Crawford, who endeavored to keep an accurate account, at the astonishing number of about 3,000 ‡

Among the zealous advocates of the new measures in the

* Some pains-taking persons counted 143 carriages and wagons, 500 covered sleighs or sledges, and 500 without covers, making in all 1,143 vehicles ; and 500 candles, beside lamps, used to illuminate the camp at night. Gosp. Her., vol. ii., p. 200. Lyle's *Diary*, p. 25.

† Lyle's *Diary*.

‡ McNemar, p. 26.

upper part of Kentucky, Messrs. Houston, Stone, and Marshall, were prominent. These men had always inclined to a fervent and exciting style of preaching, and their peculiarities had gained them great popularity, and a reputation for extraordinary zeal. Houston was constitutionally of a warm and sanguine temperament; Marshall was a bold and stern enthusiast; Stone differed from both in a cooler sagacity, an appearance of tender feelings, and a bland, insinuating address; all were well calculated to be leaders, as they equally loved influence and the stimulus of thronged assemblies. It is not wonderful therefore that, aided by the enthusiasm of the times, they succeeded in stealing away the hearts of the people, ever captivated by great appearances of devotion. To men so predisposed, the camp-meetings presented precisely such a theatre of operation as they desired, and we find everything, accordingly, in their hands.

While these three individuals were thus warmly falling in with the popular current, the other clergy, though greatly amazed, were never thrown completely off their guard. Old Father Rice, Blythe, Stuart, Lyle, and Campbell, were never to be reckoned among the advocates of disorder. At first, indeed, they were filled with unfeigned surprise and wonder; and if we may judge of their feelings by the opening pages of Lyle's Diary, they might be compared to the pious Jews who saw the paralytic healed by a word, and "were amazed and glorified God, saying, we never saw it on this fashion." They were taken by surprise, but, far from cavilling, they hoped that this sudden and extensive religious movement would prove of a solid and salutary character. Even the spasmodic convulsions, the falling down, and sudden convictions, they regarded with interest. These good men had long mourned the deep declension of the Church, and had trembled at the triumphant ascendancy of Deism, rabid and intolerant, and they almost hoped that—inasmuch as the days of miracles were past, yet nothing short of a miracle could save religion,—Providence was pleased to permit these strange spectacles in lieu of miracles, to arrest attention, and thus gain access for the power of truth. *In the truth alone* they placed their final dependence, as the means of conversion. Nothing, in their view, could supersede evangelical truth, though other things might prepare the way for its reception.

The Presbyterian clergy, as a body, are not to be held answerable for the extravagant irregularities and enthusiastic fantasies which deformed the Great Revival. As a body, they neither originated nor countenanced them; and their influence and popularity were in some instances almost prostrated in consequence. Even those few who madly seized the reins, and figured afterwards conspicuously as leaders in the disorders of the time, were not the originators of those disorganizing measures, but only adopted the work of other hands. The parentage must be laid at another door.

It is to the Methodists these measures are to be traced. Their own avowals are our authority for the statement—avowals made with so much self-complacency, that we must be exonerated from all suspicion of using the language of reproach. It is a well-known characteristic of that sect, to exalt zeal above knowledge, while they object to the Presbyterians a tendency to the reverse. Whatever changes have of late years taken place for the better, they were totally unknown at the period, and in the region, of which we write. Then, boisterous emotion, loud ejaculations, shouting, sobbing, leaping, falling and swooning, were in vogue, and were regarded as the true criteria of heartfelt religion.

Early admitted to take part in the meetings of the Presbyterians, it was not long before the contagion of their wild enthusiasm completely outgrew the control of the clergy; and the people, borne upon the swelling waves of a tumultuous excitement, were satisfied with no other than the most stimulating preaching. Of this, the fact mentioned by Mr. Lyle, that the crowd would desert the preacher as soon as it was whispered that things were “more lively” at some other point, is a forcible illustration.

It was at one of Mr. McGready’s sacraments that the Methodist influence first took the lead, as has already been described, when the Methodist, John McGee, overcome by his feelings, broke in upon the usual orderly customs of the Presbyterians, and urged the excited congregation to shout.

But while the Methodists thus boldly claim the credit of the work, it is not unworthy of notice that Mr. McGready makes no mention of this incident in his account, exhibiting, in his silence, perhaps, a degree of spiritual ambition of which the good man was not conscious. After the general meetings had become

popular, the Methodists were freely admitted, and the same scenes of tumultuous enthusiasm were habitually repeated. Mr. Lyle, indeed, mentions an instance when they were discouraged, and stood aloof;* but such cases were rare exceptions. It appears evident that they soon obtained the predominance, and from assistants became leaders. They succeeded in introducing their own stirring hymns, familiarly, though incorrectly, entitled "Wesley's Hymns;" and as books were scarce, the few that were attainable were cut up, and the leaves distributed, so that all in turn might learn them by heart. By those who have ever reflected how great are the effects of music, and how probable it is that the ballads of a nation exert more influence than their laws, this will be acknowledged to have been of itself a potent engine to give predominance to the Methodists, and to disseminate their peculiar sentiments. That this was the ultimate effect, we are told by the writer already cited.†

* Lyle, p. 87.

† Gospel Herald, vol. ii. p. 220.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTRAVAGANCES AND DISORDERS ATTENDING THE REVIVAL.

THE reign of enthusiasm having fairly commenced, its progress was, very naturally, marked by a variety of evils and extravagances, which tended to the injury of the revival, and the disgrace of religion. Among these may be enumerated: An undue excitement of Animal Feeling; disorderly proceedings in Public Worship; too free communication of the Sexes; the promulgation of Doctrinal Errors; and the engendering of Spiritual Pride and Censoriousness.

I. THE UNDUE EXCITEMENT OF ANIMAL FEELING.—The extravagances witnessed under this head were of the most extraordinary nature, and open a new chapter in the history of the human mind. As they will be found to merit the attention both of the Psychologist and the Physician, it will be proper to give a full account of the phenomena, with such facts and statements as may serve to explain the cause and mode of their occurrence.

These phenomena constituted a species of that “bodily exercise” which, in the judgment of the great apostle, was of such little profit, but, in the superior days of New Light, was exalted into an unequivocal token of the Spirit’s influence, if not an indispensable evidence of grace. The Bodily Exercises were familiarly known at the time, and since, by significant names, and may be classified as follows, viz:

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| 1. The <i>Falling</i> Exercise, | 4. The <i>Running</i> Exercise, |
| 2. The <i>Jerking</i> Exercise, | 5. The <i>Dancing</i> Exercise, |
| 3. The <i>Rolling</i> Exercise, | 6. The <i>Barking</i> Exercise, |
| 7. <i>Visions and Trances.</i> | |

1. THE FALLING EXERCISE.—The earliest instances of the Falling Exercise occurred, as before stated, in one of Mr. McGready's congregations, in the Green river country, whence it was rapidly propagated through Tennessee, Upper Kentucky, and even as far as the Carolinas.

After exhortations of a stimulating and rousing character, especially if tender and pathetic, calculated to enlist deeply the feelings; or during spirited and lively singing,* and when the body was exhausted by copious weeping;† one and another in the audience, sometimes to the number of scores, would suddenly fall prostrate on the ground, and swoon away. No sex or age was exempt; the young and the old, men as well as women, fell; even large, robust young men, of the age of twenty;‡ and, one day at Cane Ridge Camp-Meeting, it was remarked that nearly all who fell were men.§

Some fell suddenly, as if struck with lightning,|| while others were seized with a universal tremor the moment before, and fell shrieking.¶ Piercing shrieks were uttered by many during the whole period of prostration, intermingled with groans, cries for mercy, and exclamations of "Glory! glory to God!"** If the assembly were languid, a few shrieks, and instances of falling, quickly roused them, and others would begin to fall in every direction. Many were admonished of the coming attack by a pricking as of needles in the extremities, such as one experiences when the circulation of the blood is impeded, or a limb is benumbed.†† They complained also of a deadness or numbness of body, and found themselves, to their surprise, powerless to move at the bidding of the will.‡‡ There were some who talked to Mr. Lyle of a sweet feeling darting through the body, preceding the falling down; but he has given no specific information in regard to the nature of this feeling. In general, there was no complaint of pain, but only of great weakness, both during and after the paroxysm;§§ and it was observed, that a person who had

* Lyle, p. 97.

† Ibid. p. 3. Alexander's Letter to Strong. Powers' Essay, p. 39.

‡ Lyle, pp. 6, 18, 4. § Ibid. p. 34. || Bibl. Report. vol. vi. p. 348.

¶ Alexander's Letter, *ut supra*.

** Lyle, pp. 4, 100.

†† Lyle, p. 2. Dr. Blythe told the author he had once felt this sensation, but had repressed it by a determined effort of will.

‡‡ Lyle, pp. 3, 19, 83.

§§ Ibid. pp. 6, 8, 20, 30.

fallen once was predisposed to fall again, and that, under circumstances, and exercises of mind, by no means extraordinary.* Women had their nerves so weakened by the frequency of these attacks, as to fall while walking to or from the meeting-house, engaged in narrating past exercises, without any uncommon emotion, † and to drop from their horses on the road. ‡

In this condition the subject would lie from fifteen minutes to two or three hours; § and we are even told of a woman lying without eating or speaking, for nine days and nights. || Some were more or less convulsed, and wrought hard, in frightful nervous agonies, the eyes rolling wildly; but the greatest number were quite motionless, as if dead, or about to expire in a few moments. Some were capable of conversing, others not. ¶

The hands were cold,** accompanied generally with a weak, low pulse. Sometimes the pulse was higher and quicker than usual. †† A woman who had been exhausted by exhorting a long time, had the veins of her neck much swelled. ‡‡ Another who played a frequent and conspicuous part in the exercises, had her breast much swollen. §§ The face was sometimes pale, sometimes flushed pale red, sometimes it was pale yellow, or of a corpse-like hue. |||| The breathing was hard and quick, even to gasping. ¶¶ The nerves were weakened and tremulous, so much so as to render it difficult to feel the pulse; the sinews were generally corded, as in nervous complaints, and after heat and relaxation; rarely cramped. In one instance, a woman's hands were so cramped as to require the assistance of others to open and straighten them.***

In the hysterical or convulsed state, there would be sometimes a kicking or drumming of the heels on the floor, with frequency and force, so as to be heard at the distance of several yards: sometimes a convulsive bouncing of the body on the floor, so as to make a loud noise; sometimes a prancing over the benches before falling. †††

* Lyle, pp. 20, 50.

§ Dr. Cleland's paper. No. II. Lyle, p. 26.

|| McNemar, p. 32.

** Lyle, pp. 2, 18, 20.

§§ Lyle, p. 137.

¶¶ Lyle, pp. 2, 4, 6, 100.

††† Lyle, pp. 30, 100, 59, 137.

† Ibid. pp. 8, 138.

‡ Ibid. pp. 32, 34. Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. p. 341. Stuart's Reminiscences,

¶ Dr. Cleland, *ut supra*. Lyle, *passim*.

†† Ibid. pp. 4, 18, 20.

‡‡ Ibid. pp. 20, 18, 71.

*** Ibid. pp. 2, 8, 18, 33, 40.

†† Ibid. p. 33.

During the syncope, and indeed even when conscious, and talking on religious topics, the patient was insensible of pain. Vinegar and hartshorn were applied with no perceptible effect.* Mr. Lyle having been furnished with a vial of hartshorn by Dr. Warfield, applied it to a stout young man, who was lying flat on his back, and, inadvertently, let some run into his nostrils; but he took not the slightest notice of it, so much was his attention absorbed by devotional feelings.† Neither did such as fell, nor such as tumbled over, and struck a stump or a tree, sustain any injury from the concussion.‡ It was while in the state of syncope that the visions and trances, shortly to be described, occurred.

The numbers affected in this singular manner were astonishing. At Cabin Creek Camp-Meeting, May 22, 1801, so many fell on the third night, that, to prevent their being trodden upon, they were collected together, and laid out in order on two squares of the meeting-house, covering the floor like so many corpses.§ At Paint Creek Sacrament, 200 were supposed to have fallen;|| at Pleasant Point, 300;¶ but these accounts are beggared by the great meeting at Cane Ridge, August 6, 1801, when 3,000 were computed to have fallen.**

2. THE JERKING EXERCISE.—Swoons and convulsive falling had not been without precedent. They have been recorded as occurring in the days of Wesley, Whitefield, Edwards, the Tenants, and Blair, as well as at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, and examples are not infrequent in the meetings of the Methodists and Cumberland Presbyterians, at the present day. But the phenomenon now to be described was something far more extraordinary, and altogether without precedent in Christian lands. It was familiarly called *The Jerks*, and the first recorded instance of its occurrence was at a sacrament in East Tennessee,†† when several hundred of both sexes were seized with this strange and involuntary contortion. The subject was instantaneously seized with spasms or convulsions in every muscle, nerve and tendon.

* Lyle, p. 10.

§ McNemar, p. 24.

¶ Lyle, p. 3.

†† Bibl Rep. vol. vi. p. 348.

† Ibid. p. 18.

|| Lyle, p. 37.

** McNemar, p. 26. Lyle, p. 34.

‡ Ibid. p. 83.

His head was jerked or thrown from side to side with such rapidity that it was impossible to distinguish his visage, and the most lively fears were awakened lest he should dislocate his neck or dash out his brains. His body partook of the same impulse and was hurried on by like jerks over every obstacle, fallen trunks of trees, or in a church, over pews and benches, apparently to the most imminent danger of being bruised and mangled. It was useless to attempt to hold or restrain him, and the paroxysm was permitted gradually to exhaust itself. An additional motive for leaving him to himself was the superstitious notion that all attempt at restraint was resisting the Spirit of God.*

The first form in which these spasmodic contortions made their appearance was that of a simple jerking of the arms from the elbow downwards. The jerk was very quick and sudden, and followed at short intervals. This was the simplest and most common form, but the convulsive motion was not confined to the arms, it extended in many instances to other parts of the body. When the joint of the neck was affected, the head was thrown backward and forward with a celerity, frightful to behold, and which was impossible to be imitated by persons who were not under the stimulus. The bosom heaved, the countenance was disgustingly distorted, and the spectators were alarmed lest the neck should be broken.† When the hair was long, it was shaken with such quickness, backward and forward, as to crack and snap like the lash of a whip.‡ Sometimes the muscles of the back were affected, and the patient was thrown down on the ground, when his contortions for some time resembled those of a live fish cast from its native element on the land.§

The most graphic description we have is from one who was not only an eye-witness, but an apologist. He says, "Nothing in nature could better represent this strange and unaccountable operation, than for one to goad another, alternately on every

* Stuart's Rem. No. II.

† Bibl. Rep., vi. p. 349.

‡ As this statement will no doubt appear incredible to some readers, I give as my authority, an eye and ear-witness, Mr. Ephraim Herriott, an elder of the Church, and a highly respectable resident of Scott county, Ky. The account is confirmed by others.

§ Powers' Essay, p. 37.

side, with a piece of red hot iron. The exercise commonly began in the head, which would fly backward and forward, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labor to suppress, but in vain; and the more any one labored to stay himself, and be sober, the more he staggered, and the more his twitches increased. He must, necessarily, go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground, and bounce from place to place like a football, or hop round, with head, limbs and trunk twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder. And how such could escape without injury, was no small wonder to spectators. By this strange operation the human frame was commonly so transformed and disfigured, as to lose every trace of its natural appearance. Sometimes the head would be twitched right and left, to a half round, with such velocity, that not a feature could be discovered, but the face appear as much behind as before; and in the quick progressive jerk, it would seem as if the person was transmuted into some other species of creature. Head-dresses were of little account among the female jerkers. Even handkerchiefs bound tight round the head, would be flirited off almost with the first twitch, and the hair put into the utmost confusion; this was a very great inconvenience, to redress which the generality were shorn, though directly contrary to their confession of faith. Such as were seized with the jerks, were wrested at once, not only from under their own government, but that of every one else, so that it was dangerous to attempt confining them, or touching them in any manner, to whatever danger they were exposed; yet few were hurt, except it were such as rebelled against the operation, through willful and deliberate enmity, and refused to comply with the injunctions which it came to enforce.”*

f * McNemar, pp. 61, 62.—One cannot but be struck with the remarkable parallel presented by the Howling Dervishes of Broussa, as described by an eyewitness. “Things had progressed thus far, when suddenly a strong voice shouted, ‘Allah il Allah.’ and a powerful man sprung from the floor, as though he had been *struck* in the heart, *fell forward* upon his head, and by a violent *spasm* rolled over, and lay flat upon his back, with his arms crossed on his breast, and his whole frame as *rigid* as though he had stiffened into death. . . . The measure of the chant was regulated by the high priest, who clapped his hands from time to time to *increase its speed*; himself and his four green-girdled assistants uttering the words of the prayer, while the fraternity, *rocking themselves to*

From the universal testimony of those who have described these spasms, they appear to have been wholly involuntary. Thus they have been represented by McNemar in the passage just cited. This remark is applicable also to all the other bodily exercises.* What demonstrates satisfactorily their involuntary nature is, not only that, as above stated, the twitches prevailed in spite of resistance, and even the more for attempts to suppress them; but that wicked men would be seized with them while sedulously guarding against an attack, and cursing every jerk when seized. Travellers on their journey, and laborers at their daily work, were also liable to them.†

Instances have been given of men concealing whips on their persons, with the intention of using them upon the subjects or advocates of these contortions, who have themselves, to their great surprise and horror, been suddenly seized in a similar manner, and their whips have been violently jerked out of their hands to a distance. A young man, the son of an elder, who was a tanner, feigned sickness one Sabbath morning, to avoid accompanying the family to a camp-meeting. He was left alone in bed, with none others in the house but a few black children. He lay some time, triumphing in the success of his stratagem, but afraid to rise too soon, lest some one might be accidentally lingering and detect him. As he lay quiet with his head covered, his thoughts were naturally directed to the camp-meeting, and fancy painted the assembled multitude, the public worship, and individuals falling into the usual spasmodic convulsions. All at once he found himself violently jerked out

and fro, kept up one continual groan, rising and falling with the voices of the choir. Howl succeeded to howl, as the exhaustion, consequent on this violent bodily exertion, began to produce its effect; until at length the strong men *fell on the earth on all sides* like children, *shrieking and groaning* in their agony—some struggling to free themselves from the grasp of those who endeavored to restrain them, and others trembling in all their limbs, and sobbing out their anguish like infants.

"The more I write on the subject of this extraordinary and disgusting exhibition, the more I feel the utter impossibility of conveying by words a correct idea of it; from a long sustained groan, and a slow, heaving, *wave-like* motion, it grew into a hoarse sobbing, and a *quick jerk*, which I can compare to nothing that it more resembles than the rapid action of a *pair of bellows*; the cheeks and foreheads of the actors became *pale*, their eyes dim, and white *foam* gathered about their mouths."—Miss Pardoe's "City of the Sultan, in 1836," c. 34.

* Stuart's Rem. No. II. Bibl. Rep. vi. 343.

† Stuart's Rem. No. II.

of bed, and dashed round the room and against the walls, in a manner altogether beyond his control. Recollecting that praying was said to be a good sedative on such occasions, he resorted to the experiment, and to his great satisfaction found it successful. He returned to bed quite relieved, but only to be again affected in the same way, and to be again quieted by the act of praying. He then dressed himself, and, to occupy his mind, went to the tanyard, and drawing a skin from the vat, prepared to unhair it. He rolled up his sleeves, and, grasping the knife, was about to commence the operation, when, instantaneously, the knife was flung out of his hand, and he himself jerked backward over logs and against the fences, as before. Gaining relief by resorting to the former remedy, he ventured to resume his occupation, and again was he interrupted. But, finding his talisman losing its efficacy, he began now to be really alarmed, and, quitting the yard, he returned to his chamber, and betook himself to prayer in good earnest. In this condition, weeping and crying to God for mercy, he was found by the family on their return. The result of this singular incident was that he became a truly converted man, and shortly after connected himself with the Church.*

Another example of the involuntary nature of these motions is presented in the case of a lady and gentleman of some note in the fashionable world, who were attracted to the camp-meeting at Cane Ridge by mere curiosity. On the way they diverted themselves with a variety of jokes upon the poor deluded creatures who allowed themselves to roll screaming in the mud and crying for mercy, and sportively agreed that if either of them should fall, the other should remain and render suitable protection and assistance. They had not been long on the ground when, to the consternation of the gentleman, his gay companion suddenly dropped; whereupon, instead of fulfilling his promise, he fled at full speed. Flight, however, proved no preservative, for he had not gone 200 yards before he was seized in the same way, and measured his length on the ground; while a crowd flocked round him to witness his mortification, and offer prayers in his behalf.†

* This is told by McGready. See Bibl. Rep. vol. vi. p. 344.

† Hist. of Meth. in the W. States, No. 10, (Gosp. Her. ii. p. 200.)

The Jerks continued to prevail for several years. Dr. Cleland saw a young woman in a Baptist settlement up Green river, who had been subject to them for three years.* Lorenzo Dow met with them in 1805, in Knoxville, Tennessee. He was preaching in the Court-house, the Governor being present, on which occasion 150 persons were exercised with the jerks.† Nor were they confined to any particular sect or denomination of Christians, for at an evening meeting that eccentric individual held 18 miles from Knoxville, about a dozen *Quakers*, the most unlikely subjects that could have been selected, were affected by them. He says, "I have seen all denominations of religion exercised with the *jerks*, gentleman and lady, black and white, young and old, without exception. I passed a meeting-house, where I observed the under-growth had been cut away for a camp-meeting, and from fifty to a hundred saplings were left, breast-high, on purpose for the people who were *jerked* to hold by. I observed where they had held on they had kicked up the earth, as a horse stamping flies."‡ One is almost tempted to suspect that some wag meant to pass a hoax on Lorenzo's credulity, in this account of the *jerking-posts*, for it would seem a much more plausible explanation that they were used for tying horses, especially as others assure us it was so difficult to restrain the persons affected.

3. THE ROLLING EXERCISE.—This is specifically noticed by McNemar as a distinct variety, and is described as consisting in being violently prostrated, doubled with the head and feet together, and rolling over and over like a wheel, or turning swiftly over and over sidewise like a log. The intervention of mud offered no obstacle, although the individual should be sulled from head to foot.§

4. THE RUNNING EXERCISE.—In this the person affected took a sudden start, and was impelled to run with amazing swiftness, as if engaged in a race, leaping over every obstacle in his way with preternatural agility. This was continued till his strength was completely exhausted.|| Mr. Lyle saw a young woman

* Bibl. Rep., vi. 345.

† Powers, p. 41.

|| Stuart's Rem. No. II. Bibl. Rep. vi. 350.

‡ Powers, p. 41.

§ McNemar, p. 61.

fall at Salem, in 1802, who lay a good while, and then, jumping up, cried as in distraction, that she wanted to serve God but others hindered her. She “*pranced*” over the benches for some time, and then fell down and lay as in a syncope.*

5. THE DANCING EXERCISE.—This was not one of the earliest exercises, but a later improvement upon them, or, as McNemar expresses himself, “the privilege of exhibiting, by a bold faith, what others were moved to by a blind impulse.”† The first instance was among the New Lights, at a Spring Sacrament at Turtle Creek in 1804, about six months after their schism. Mr. Thomson felt constrained, at the close of the meeting, “to go to dancing,” and continued this movement in a regular manner round the stand for an hour or more, repeating all the while in a low voice, “This is the Holy Ghost! Glory!” It was not till the fall or winter ensuing, that this grew to be a common practice among his followers. They then encouraged each other “*to praise God in the dance* ;” believing that it was their privilege to rejoice before the Lord, and aiming to express that uniform and continual religious joy in a manner which they regarded as the most appropriate.‡ The dancing was performed by a gentle and not ungraceful motion, to a lively tune, but with little variety in the steps. Sometimes it was so ludicrous as to excite a smile.§ A writer in the Biblical Repertory states that during the administration of the Lord’s Supper in the presence of the Synod of Virginia, he witnessed a young woman performing this exercise for the space of about half an hour. The pew in which she had been sitting was cleared, and she danced in the vacant space from one end to the other, her eyes being closed and her countenance calm. At the close of the half hour she fell, and was agitated with more violent motions. He saw another whose motions, instead of being lateral, consisted in jumping up and down, like the Welsh jumpers, and if it were worth while to multiply terminological distinctions with precise nicety, it might be denominated as the jumping exercise.|| Mr. Lyle saw several women leaping most

* Lyle, p. 59.

† McNemar, p. 60.

‡ McNemar, p. 60.

§ Stuart’s Rem., No. II.

|| Bibl. Rep. vi. 339.

nimbly, at Point Pleasant, in 1803, and a young girl who sprang a dozen times near two feet from the ground, notwithstanding she was held by the hands.*

6. THE BARKING EXERCISE.—One might be tempted to think that the climax of absurdity had been already reached, but there was a piece of extravagance yet reserved to complete the degradation of human nature. The barks frequently accompanied the jerks, though of later origin. This exercise consisted in the individual taking the position of a dog, moving about on all-fours, growling, snapping the teeth, and barking, with such exactness of imitation, as to deceive any one whose eyes were not directed to the spot. The persons affected were not always of the humblest, or most vulgar classes; but persons of the highest rank in society; of cultivated minds, and polite manners, found themselves involuntarily reduced to this mortifying situation.†

The only method of securing relief from this wretched condition was to engage in the voluntary dance; and the opinion became prevalent that it was inflicted as a chastisement for remissness of duty, and as a provocative of zeal. Such as resisted the impulse, and declined the dancing, continued to be tormented for months, and even years. From being regarded as marks of guilt, the *barks* at last assumed the dignity of tokens of Divine favour, and badges of special honor. Ludicrous as it may now seem to us, at this distance of time, to hear of such extraordinary sounds as "*bow, wow, wow,*" interspersed with pious ejaculations, and quotations of Scripture, as "every knee shall bow-wow-wow, and every tongue shall confess," we are not at liberty to doubt the truth of the assertion that then the effect, or at least one of the effects, was, to overawe the wicked, and excite fearful apprehensions in the minds of the impious.‡ It is easily conceivable that the dread of being reduced to this humiliating condition would check any disposition to indulge in ridicule.

7. VISIONS AND TRANCES.—It was early observed, that those who fell in the involuntary syncope, or swoon, after remaining in a state of insensibility even for hours, upon being aroused from it, professed to have been favored with wonderful visions of

* Lyle, pp. 106, 112.

† McNemar, p. 62.

‡ McNemar, p. 63.

things unutterable. They would discourse, and exhort, and sing in what were termed "the strains of heaven," in an elevated style far beyond what was supposed to be their ordinary ability, and which could only be accounted for by the aid of inspiration.*

Not only did these persons profess, while in a rapture quite out of the body, to have had interviews with the spirits of their departed friends, and to learn their different allotments in the invisible world, but they even aspired to somewhat of the prophetic character, announcing what would be the result of the meetings in progress; seeing, in vision, individual ministers preaching, and the persons who fell.†

As "a dream cometh through the multitude of business," and the busy mind revolves, during natural sleep, the incidents that have engaged its attention during the day, combining them in the wildest vagaries of unchecked fancy; so these persons' minds being absorbed with but one topic, the expected advent of Christ's kingdom, their sleeping and waking reveries were alike turned upon the subject. In the dreams which they had at night upon their beds, and in the ecstasies or trances into which they fell, these predominant thoughts converted every form and object suggested by the imagination, into a sacred emblem, pregnant with spiritual meaning. The sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, plains, animals, and vegetables, whatever material objects were presented to the mind, were appropriated as symbolical of some correspondent analogy in the kingdom of Christ. Thus there were nocturnal visions of two suns, or of three moons; and waking visions of a great platform or galaxy of stars in the heaven at noonday. One beheld a purgatorial fire, into which thousands rushed, and in which they were instantly purified from all gross and fleshly pollutions. Another saw the air darkened by flocks of ravenous birds, commissioned to devour the carcasses of all dead beasts. To the intense gaze of a third, a road, or track of light, a thousand miles in length, stretched away in the distance, along which messengers were approaching with good news from afar. Others, in these visions, were employed in crossing rivers; in climbing mountains; in finding treasures,

* Stuart's Rem. No. II.

† Dr. Cleland's paper, in Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. p. 341.

and in fighting serpents ; or more delightfully occupied in eating the fruits of the tree of life ; bathing in pellucid streams, and exchanging their old garments for new.*

While the crowd of enthusiasts were obliged to be content, in common, with the privilege of ordinary visions and trances, there was a selecter number admitted to more exalted degrees of mystic ecstasy. These highly favored few emulated St. Paul in his ineffable rapture ; and, happier than he, carried back to earth, from the heavenly region, indubitable tokens of their visit in "a peculiar fragrance, and a melodious sound in the breast."† It is unfortunate that this delightful fragrance seems to have been confined to the spirit of the individuals alone ; had their bodies likewise been affected by it, they would have truly lived in *the odor of sanctity*, and, more fortunate than the saints of the Romish calendar, might have enjoyed the honors, and exhibited the undeniable evidences, of a proleptic canonization.

An undue importance was early attached to the bodily exercises, and animal excitement was exalted into an evidence of grace ; and not only one of the evidences, but the brightest and most indubitable of them all. All well-meant attempts to relieve,

* McNemar, p. 67.

It may not be uninteresting to subjoin a few instances recorded by Mr. Lyle. At Lexington, Oct., 1801, "H. McD.'s wife fell, and swooned away ; thought, when she came to, she had been asleep. Dreamt she was walking on the tops of the trees. . . . K. C. swoons often ; and in one swoon saw a vision of heaven, with a small door. J. C. is in despair : has had a vision of hell, and heard a voice saying, that he must die without religion in such a time, &c.—*Diary*, p. 51. . . . "One W. was much agitated, and talked a good deal about sin and Christ, and exhorted and prayed. That night, slumbering, or as he thought, wide awake, his spirit went out (as in a trance, I suppose) into the earth, and saw strange, curious caverns, &c., and then he thought he would look upwards, and he saw a mountain clothed with beautiful trees, silver-topped, or leaves tipped with silver. He thought this mountain led to God and heaven. Then above he saw a great light, and he prayed to see a little farther ; and a little to the right he saw still more dazzling light, and he sighed and sunk before it, as the great All in all. He came to tell of these things in ecstasies of joy, and appeared very thankful for the great view. I inquired if he had any view of anything but light. He said, nothing but dazzling light, such as he could not behold ; and he thought it was the place where God dwelt, &c. I tried long to state the evidences of true grace to his mind."—*Diary*, p. 53. This occurred at a sacrament in Lexington, the 5th Sabbath of October, 1801. We may observe from it, how early this good man's mind arrived at a correct judgment in regard to these vagaries, and how sedulously, though unsuccessfully, he labored to direct attention to the true evidences of grace. "Two women in Stonernmouth have fallen into trances, (July 12, 1801,) and one has passed a golden bridge to heaven's gate, &c. The other has been in heaven, &c. &c."—p. 7.

† McNemar, pp. 66, 67.

moderate, or check the bodily affections by physical or moral means, were regarded by the devout but ignorant multitude, as an invasion of the Divine prerogative, and an impious thwarting of the Spirit's operations.* Those ministers who labored to direct the minds of the people to the true marks of grace, and who discouraged the irregularities, were denounced as deistical, and their influence was diminished.† Human nature has ever been disposed to chime in with the cry of the Egyptianized Hebrews, "Make us gods that shall go before us! gods that we can see, and handle;" and visible manifestations have been magnified far beyond doctrinal truth or pure morality.

But, as in many other instances, those who boasted most loudly of the favor of Heaven exhibited conduct little worthy of their vocation: and it must be confessed the pretenders to the gifts of the Holy Ghost proved but sorry temples for the inhabitation of so pure a spirit. Stamped with the signature of Heaven, they conceited themselves superior to other men, and privileged to trample upon the ordinary rules of conduct, as will shortly be seen.

II. Another characteristic of the Revival, was, DISORDERLY PROCEEDINGS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

"At first appearance," says McNemar, "those meetings exhibited nothing to the spectator but a scene of confusion, that could scarce be put into human language."‡ Mr. Stuart amply corroborates this account, and cautions the reader that he is not to imagine a camp-meeting such as is witnessed at the present day, reduced to some degree of order, and subject to specific regulations.§

Mr. Lyle's testimony confirms the preceding. He says of one camp-meeting, "he never saw a more confused, careless audience since the work began."|| At another, there was "much noise and tumult."¶ At another, "the assembly was very tumultuous."** Of Mr. Stone's people he says, "they were wild and disorderly, more than needful."†† On one occasion, he says,

* Lyle, p. 10.

† McNemar, p. 23.

‡ Lyle, p. 58.

† Lyle, p. 54, 83.

§ Stuart's Rem. No. II

** Lyle, p. 108.

|| Lyle, p. 41.

†† Lyle, p. 66.

"there appeared to be good things going on, but such a scene of confusion I hardly ever saw."* On another, he mentions "the loud peals of indistinct sound, that issued from the busy crowd," and "such a mighty noise that no one could hear anything they said or did in the other parts of the house."† But we are not confined to vague, general statements; from this indefatigable and accurate observer we may collect the very details of these repulsive scenes.

To say nothing of the bustle unavoidably consequent upon the fainting of individuals in a crowd, and their friends hastening to their aid—of itself no trifling disturbance—different hymns were sung at the same time, each to its appropriate tune.‡ Mr. Lyle heard no less than six different hymns at once in the Providence Meeting-House, in 1801.§ It added to the discord that they contracted a habit of singing very loud, with violent motions of the body, and in such a way as was destructive of all melody.||

Several would also pray at once; sometimes two, sometimes ten or twelve, and sometimes almost all the serious people.¶ At Walnut Hill, in 1803, after sermon, the people broke out in a loud burst of prayer, hundreds using their voices at the same time, one voice confounding another; a crowd of all ranks looking on in amazement, at this modern Babel.** While McNemar was praying for a woman, her voice rose louder than his; others meanwhile praying, singing, groaning, and shouting all round.†† This practice they justified by the plea, which one oddly enough introduced in his prayer. He entreated that all might cry aloud, and not be afraid of producing disorder, "for thou, Lord," added he, "canst hear us, should we all speak at once."‡‡

The preachers were often interrupted in the midst of their discourses by bursts of singing and praying, volunteered by the laity, while shrieks, whoops, outcries, and hysterical laughter, and the repetition of their words in louder accents, constituted a combination of annoyances to which the waves of the sea harangued by the Athenian orator must have been a trifle.§§

The sacrament at Walnut Hill, in June, 1803, by which time

*Lyle, p. 84.

† Lyle, p. 58.

** Lyle, pp. 100, 116.

‡‡ Lyle, pp. 99, 123.

† Lyle, pp. 115, 121.

‡ Lyle, p. 65.

†† Lyle, p. 22.

† Lyle, p. 34, 41.

¶ Lyle, pp. 58, 82, 107.

‡‡ Lyle, p. 62.

the current of enthusiasm had set in so strongly as to defy restraint, seems to have been eminently disorderly. Some talked, some sang, some prayed, and others exhorted, till the roof rang with deafening and reiterated peals of indistinct sound. Hundreds were praying and singing, and shaking hands, at the same time. Numbers were exhorting where nobody could hear, hollering and screaming till hoarse and debilitated in constitution. There was an appointment at the tent for sermon Sunday afternoon, but such was the uproar, that the sermon had to be dispensed with. About dusk, a meeting was appointed in the house. The place was crowded, especially the large aisle, but there was such a din from the intermingled exercises, that a loud voice could be heard only a few inches. Mr. Howe was in one corner, Messrs. Stuart and Lyle awhile in another, Mr. Steele on the right side of the pulpit, and Mr. Robinson up stairs, but no one could secure a hearing.*

Hysterical Laughter was at first sporadic,† but in 1803 we find "*the Holy Laugh*" introduced systematically as a part of worship. While Mr. Findley was preaching a lively sermon at Silver Creek Sacrament, in June of that year, the people at some sentences laughed aloud. Sometimes half the professors of religion laughed in this way, appearing all the time solemn and devout.‡ There were also repeated shouts of "Glory! glory to God!"§

In these disorders Mr. Stone was the ringleader. While Mr. McPheeters was speaking one evening at Paris, in June, 1803, Stone got down on his knees and began to pray, which his people observing, they caught the flame, and began to pray also. In the course of ten minutes the noise was so great as to compel Mr. McPheeters to desist. They kept it up till 9 o'clock, many of them together. The rest of the congregation left the place in disgust.||

Another disorderly procedure, in open violation of the apostolic canon, consisted in women's exhorting. In the radiance of the New Light, the gift of exhortation was generally expected on rising from the state of trance; nor is it surprising to be told

* Lyle, pp. 115, 116, 117, 120, 121. † May, 1802, Lyle, p. 68.

‡ Lyle, p. 136. § Lyle, p. 68.

|| Lyle, p. 127.

that such expectations were generally answered. Any individual was at liberty to "minister the light" he had received as the Spirit directed, and men of all ranks, ages, and colors, freely usurped the functions of the ministry. The female sex were not excluded, and as soon as they "got deliverance" as the phrase was, they exhorted the bystanders in the most passionate manner. Sometimes it happened that these exhortations affected the people more than all the preaching.* The youngest girls, forgetful of the reserve and even of the modesty so becoming to their sex and age, under the excitement into which they were thrown, offered their exhortations to the crowd, indiscriminately, as well as to persons older than themselves.†

Even children of a tender age, emboldened by their enthusiasm, called on sinners to repent, with eloquence singularly precocious.‡ McNemar instances boys of 8 and 10 years;§ and Mr. Lyle witnessed an infant of seven years, with a joyful countenance, inviting his comrades to come to Christ.|| These efforts were often so remarkably pathetic, both in matter and manner, as to arrest the attention of the most careless, and dissolve the most rugged in tears. Specimens have been preserved, of which the following are the best: "Oh, the sweetness of redeeming love! Oh, if sinners knew the sweetness of redeeming love, they would all come to the overflowing fountain!"¶ Two little girls, 9 or 10 years old, were in great distress at a sacrament near Flemingsburg; one of them received comfort and began to exhort her young companion till she too obtained a hope, when taking her in her arms she cried, in an affecting manner, "Oh, here is another star of light!" At a camp-meeting near Indian Creek, in Ohio, on the third day, a boy twelve years old, mounting a log, addressed the people with eyes streaming with tears. He continued to exhort for an hour, supported by two men, till his strength was exhausted. Raising his little hand, and dropping his handkerchief, wet with tears and perspiration, he cried: "Thus, O sinner, shall you drop into hell, unless you forsake your sins, and turn to the Lord!" So impressive proved his words and gesture, that several fell instantaneously to the ground,

* Lyle, pp. 69, 71, 80, 105.

‡ McNemar, p. 34.

† Lyle, p. 120.

|| Lyle, p. 42.

‡ Lyle, p. 48.

¶ McNemar, p. 34.

as if they had been shot in battle. From that moment the meeting, which had been dull before, received an impetus that carried it forward with surprising vigor.*

Emancipated from all salutary restraints, the people abandoned themselves to the wildest enthusiasm. Feeling was now everything. The description of the apostle was vividly fulfilled. Unable to endure sound doctrine, they heaped to themselves teachers, having itching ears. They would listen to no addresses but such as were vociferous and impassioned; and forsook the preacher in shoals, if he were not sufficiently animated, and it was rumored that things were "more lively" elsewhere.†

The late hours that were kept no doubt aided the tendency to a morbid excitement of the nervous system. They continued up, sometimes till two,‡ sometimes till four o'clock in the morning.§ It was no uncommon thing to spend the whole night in these religious orgies.|| To compensate for this loss of sleep, they would deliberately spread their great-coats, and take a nap during the sermon.¶ The truth seems to be, that there were no regular hours observed for anything, not even regular intermissions for eating and sleeping; there were no stated hours for public worship, and the meeting might be said to last day and night. Cooking, eating, sleeping, and the like processes, were all going on simultaneously with religious services.**

The Millennium was supposed to have commenced, and the ordinary means of grace were superseded, as rather embarrassing the new and free outpouring of the Spirit. Hence the frequent interruptions of preaching, and even its entire suspension. The ministry of the word and the exercise of discipline were alike undervalued.††

While such disorders were permitted among the professedly religious, it could hardly be expected that order would be preserved among that portion of the multitude, emphatically "the mixed multitude," who made no pretensions to piety. The crowd fluctuated according to the varying impulses of curiosity; wherever any fell, there the throng grew thicker, and could not be repelled.‡‡ Out of 7,000 or 8,000 present at Paint Creek

* McNemar, p. 26.

§ Lyle, pp. 70, 102.

** Lyle, p. 10.

‡‡ Lyle, pp. 108, 112.

† Lyle, pp. 15, 75.

|| Stuart, Rem. No. II.

‡‡ Lyle, pp. 62, 108.

† Lyle, p. 14.

¶ Stuart, Rem. No. II.

McNemar, p. 22.

Sacrament, Aug. 1801, not more than half the number seemed attentive and behaved well. The rest wandered from place to place all day, confused and careless, talking and laughing.* At Salem, April, 1802, "the deistical band and the careless in general behaved badly. They walked about, talked, laughed, &c."† Occasionally, mischievous boys attempted to produce disturbance by throwing firebrands at the passers by, and Mr. Crawford himself, the minister of the place, was struck on the shoulder by one of them.‡ Parties of men armed with clubs, and having phosphorus in their hats, were formed to drive the people off the ground. Mr. Lyle saw half-a-dozen of such men; but their threats were not put into execution.§

Open opposition was sometimes met. At Lexington, June, 1801, Mr. Lyle was stoutly opposed by an editor, who drew his fist and threatened to injure him, applying to him the most abusive epithets. He insisted that the ladies who had fallen wanted fresh air, and that they were hindered from obtaining it; but when they themselves, on being asked, professed the contrary, he slunk away ashamed, while the more sensible deists condemned his conduct as a wretched piece of folly.||

Among the motley crowd collected from all quarters by curiosity, might be seen the blackleg, the cut-purse, the prostitute, and all the disorderly and dissipated classes of society from the towns adjoining. And to increase the disorder, "as if," laments Mr. Lyle, "the devil seemed to be doing all he could to discredit the work;" liquor was sold by the huxters, and even by some from whom better things might have been expected, and many became intoxicated. This account is confirmed by McNemar.¶

The venerable Father Rice, at an early period, with characteristic foresight, endeavored to guard against these evils; and had his advice been followed, the shocking disorders just recited might have been prevented, and the revival have gone on with greater purity, power, and splendor.

There was a sacrament at Walnut Hill, on the first Sabbath in September, 1801, when the following clergymen were present

* Lyle, pp. 41, 79.

† Lyle, p. 60.

‡ Lyle, p. 79.

§ Lyle, p. 43.

|| Lyle, p. 12.

¶ Lyle, p. 46. Stuart, Rem. No. II. McNemar, p. 34.

and took part: Marshall, Blythe, Rice, Lyle, Crawford, Welch, Stuart, Rannels. Besides these, there were several Baptist preachers on the ground, Lewis Craig, Smith, Bowman, and Davis, who occupied another stand. The negroes had still another preaching by themselves. This meeting was held but about three or four months from the commencement of the revival in Upper Kentucky. On Saturday afternoon previous, Mr. Rice, says Mr. Lyle very briefly, "exhorted powerfully against noise and false exercise."*

From an intelligent lady,† who was then a little girl, but was present at this remarkable scene, we gather the following fuller account.

The throng was so great that she could not obtain ingress upon the lower floor, and ascended an outside stair, from which she was conducted with great difficulty, from the press, to the front gallery. From this position she looked down upon the body of the building, where a great crowd were collected, some praying, some singing, and some going through the bodily agitations. While she gazed in wonder, Father Rice rose in the pulpit, with his commanding form and his silver locks, and in the most solemn manner began to repeat those words of Scripture, "HOLY! HOLY! HOLY! IS THE LORD GOD ALMIGHTY!" Never was anything more impressive. There was an instantaneous hush through the whole house. The venerable old patriarch having thus secured their attention, proceeded to express his sentiments on the Bodily Exercises, and to dissuade from encouraging them. Some idea may be formed of the nature of these remarks, from his first and second Epistles to the citizens of Kentucky.‡ Mr. Lyle seems to have feared that while Mr. Rice was particularly and properly affected about the delusions and bodily affections that prevailed, he was not so tender for the lost souls of sinners as might have been expected.

Not content with warning the laity, Mr. Rice sought to secure the co-operation of the clergy, the fountain-heads of influence. In the evening of the same day, (Saturday,) he read to his

* Lyle, p. 44.

† The lady of James Stonestreet, Esq., daughter of James Fishback, elsewhere commemorated.

‡ Bishop's Memoir, App. pp. 334, 338, 353, 368.

ministerial brethren at Mr. Crawford's house, a plan for regulating the camps at night, in order to prevent opportunities of vicious intercourse, &c., &c. He proposed that when the people should sleep in the meeting-house, the sexes should be separated, and the elders should sit up by turns in the space intervening. Also, that the elders and others should walk by turns round the camp, and act as night-watches. He expressed apprehensions that the long meetings and nocturnal vigils would produce religious insanity, and the like, as among the Shakers, Green river Tumblers, &c.*

At this meeting some dissented from his views, and stigmatized him and those who agreed with him, as opposed to the revival. Mr. Rice himself, in his second epistle, seems to allude to this and other unhappy differences of opinion, and ascribes the want of harmony to the fact of the ministers having so lately emigrated into the country from different regions, and being so widely dispersed, that they had had no opportunity to become properly acquainted. Owing to this cause there was a want of mutual confidence, which prevented such an energetic and concerted action as would have cut off pernicious excrescences, and preserved the honor of religion untarnished.†

From this time both people and clergy were divided into two parties, gradually becoming more and more wide apart, till at last they separated completely in the open schism of Stone and Marshall in 1804.

It was not until the summer of 1803, that any successful effort was made to resist the torrent of abuses. The honor of that effort was reserved for Mr. Lyle. With the tenderest feelings, he was yet a bold and intrepid champion for the truth. Notwithstanding he saw his popularity and influence diminishing, he unflinchingly persevered in expressing his decided disapprobation publicly and privately, till at last he found his perseverance rewarded. Aided by the close observations which, we know from his Diary, he had been making for nearly three years, he prepared with great care a sermon on Order, which, after submitting privately to some of his brethren, he preached at Walnut Hill, on the second Sabbath of July, 1803. This ser-

* Lyle, p. 45.

† Bishop's Mem. p. 381.

mon, Mr. Stuart informs us, "had a happy effect."* Mr. Lyle himself records that the people were, generally, very attentive, and the majority much pleased with the discourse, although a few gainsayed. Some grew angry and argued in opposition, and even endeavored to promote the confusion of intermingled exercises, but in vain. Mrs. B. and a few others fell, and created some disturbance, but moderation triumphed.†

The text was, 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 40, "For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints. . . . Let all things be done decently and in order." The manuscript is in the author's hands, and from its numerous erasures and alterations bears marks of uncommon pains having been expended upon it. It displays considerable research and acquaintance with the Scriptures. Ecclesiastical History is freely cited, and in a note reference is made to Justin Martyr and Eusebius. It is a fine contrast to Mr. McGready's sermon in defence of those extravagances.

III. TOO FREE COMMUNICATION OF THE SEXES.—This is a subject which, for obvious reasons, can only be glanced at; and particulars must be suppressed, even at the expense of making a less vivid impression of the grievance.

Tradition whispers, in an undertone, of wild fellows from adjoining towns frequenting the camps to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the prevailing license and disorder, just as they would at a masquerade; and what Mr. Lyle records is far from being adapted to rebut the allegation. That dissolute characters of both sexes resorted thither, may be gathered, also, from Messrs. Stuart and McNemar.‡ The very Stand was made a scene of nocturnal assignations by some of these wretches.§

The evil must have been sufficiently marked to attract attention as early as the fall of 1801, for in Mr. Rice's plan for regulating the camps at night, before alluded to, its prevention was specifically mentioned as an object; for which purpose the sexes were to be strictly separated during the hours allotted to sleep, and night-watches were to reconnoitre the camp and the stand.

* Stuart's Rem. No. II.

† Stuart, Rem. No. II. McNemar, 25, 34.

‡ Lyle, p. 137.

§ Lyle, p. 42.

That there was need for vigilance may be readily inferred from a single statement. In the review which Mr. Lyle took in November, 1802, of the cases of such as had *fallen* at previous periods, several were found, by the most unequivocal proofs, to have since *fallen* still more wofully; no fewer than four individuals having transgressed in the most flagrant manner.*

Women, in their frantic agitations, often unconsciously exposed their persons in a manner shocking to common decency. Not only did they tear open their bosoms, but they had sometimes to be held by main strength to keep them from the most indelicate attitudes. So strong and active were they under the stimulus, that it required no less than four women to restrain a single girl.†

It is not to be understood that such conduct was universal, but only that instances occurred, sufficiently numerous to cast a reproach on religion, and to exhibit the evils incident to enthusiastic excesses. At first, indeed, we find the Diarist recording the *serene* and *modest* manner in which females spoke of their feelings;‡ but two years afterwards, in 1803, when disorder became the order of the day, we meet with frequent and painful instances of conduct, certainly bold and forward, if not actually immodest. Will it be easily credited that, by this time, the females, from 14 to 40 years of age, got into the habit of “hugging” and embracing every one in their vicinity, in the transport of their feelings, and that the men, especially the preachers, came in for a liberal share of these caresses?§ This was, doubtless, intended as an imitation of the Kiss of Charity alluded to in 2 Cor. xiii. 12, and 1 Thess. v. 26; a custom innocently practised among the ancients, as at the present day among the Germans and Spaniards, even by male acquaintances, on setting off on a journey, or meeting after it. We find one Maxwell so overjoyed at Point Pleasant, in 1803, that he professed “he could find it in his heart to kiss the dear people of God with the

* Lyle, p. 93.

† Lyle, p. 139.

‡ Lyle, pp. 16, 17.

§ Lyle, pp. 102, 105, 135. Mr. Lyle himself was on one occasion met by a woman leaping nimbly, and her countenance radiant with joy, who attempted to clasp him round the neck. But he very properly seized her by the hands, and held her forcibly for some time till she had expended her saltatory energies. Upon which she found a vent to her over-wrought feelings in a prayer.

holy kiss.”* And it is observable that this is the first occasion where the hugging is mentioned.

But the most revolting violation of decorum occurred at the riotous Walnut Hill meeting in 1803. The passage is so striking with its accompanying reflections, that it is inserted entire. “A Miss D., an orphan from Garrard, or the Fork of Dick’s river, was in an ecstasy of joy. Two men *hoisted* her on their shoulders, though she was *woman grown*, in the manner that the victorious party of the vulgar hoist their representative at elections. She exulted aloud, crying, Glory to God! clapped her hands until they were all red and swelled; told the people she had lost her father and mother, but now she knew God was her father, &c. She talked, I suppose, near half an hour before they let her down. She then *hugged* Mr. Shannon and Finley, also Wm. McD. and another man that stood near. *Put her arms about their neck*, and *hugged* and then *clapped their backs*. Though the hoisting the girl might have been done with a good intention, yet it *appeared imprudent* in a certain degree, and she seemed not to ‘rejoice with trembling.’ NOTE.—I do not think the Scripture authorizes *female exhortation*. I think too much *fuss and applause* about those who get a manifestation engenders *spiritual pride*. ‘*Rejoice with trembling*.’ However, her exercises seem *scriptural* in the main.”†

IV. THE PROMULGATION OF DOCTRINAL ERRORS.—“Truth is in order to goodness,” say our excellent standards.‡ Where important errors in practice abound, either they may be distinctly traced to previous errors in doctrine, or they will be speedily found forming a connection with them. Every act is based upon, or defended by, some speculative opinion; and however some may attempt to make a distinction between the facts and the philosophy of religion, and pretend to reject all theories, a theory of some kind is absolutely unavoidable by every person of the least reflection, both to bind insulated facts in the memory, and to serve as a guide to further investigation.

The tendency to erroneous views was apparent at a very early date, both in the upper and lower sections of the State.

* Lyle, p. 103.

† Form of Gov. Bk. I. c. i. § 4.

‡ Lyle, p. 120.

In the lower section, or the Green river country, we have already, at a length not necessary to be repeated here, shown the introduction of Methodist influence, and its gradual predominance in the general camp-meetings, especially by means of their hymns. The natural effect of this increase of influence, would be to render their doctrinal sentiments popular, by the recommendation of uncommon zeal; and that this was the actual consequence we are distinctly informed by the Methodist writer before cited. His language is as follows:—"It was now obvious that the subjects of this work, *very generally*, had embraced the *doctrine of grace as held by the Methodists*, and the Presbyterian ministers engaged in it, appeared also, at first, to receive it in like manner."* When an investigation by a Commission of Synod became necessary, it was found that the rumors of departure from the Confession of Faith were well founded; the doctrines of election and special grace being openly denied and ridiculed. This was the germ which soon afterward expanded into the Cumberland Presbyterian schism.

While error was widely spreading in the lower section of the State, under the fostering warmth of extraneous influence, the upper section became the prey of similar calamities. A mongrel mixture of Antinomianism and Arminianism began to be broached by Marshall, Stone, and McNemar, as early as the great camp-meeting at Cane Ridge, in August, 1801. They called it the true new Gospel, which, they said, none preached but themselves. It blended high pretensions to sanctification with equally high exaltations of human agency in believing, and a studious silence upon the subject of the Holy Spirit and his operations.† These errors prevailed among the advocates of the Bodily Exercises and other extravagances, and ripened into the New Light schism.

Not only did two schisms spring from this hot-bed of enthusiasm, but a fungous excrescence of a fouler and more pernicious character found a congenial lodgment, and thrived with lamentable success. This was Shakerism. Of this and the two schisms more will be said in the proper place.

V. ENGENDERING SPIRITUAL PRIDE, CENSORIOUSNESS, &c.—

* Hist. of Meth. in the West. No. XI. (Gosp. Her. vol. II. p. 220.)

† Lyle, pp. 21, 66, 106, 118, 119, 125.

As soon as the first surprise was over, the larger portion of the Presbyterian clergy took their stand in favor of truth and order, although less decidedly than they might and would have done, had they not indulged the hope that the extravagant follies they deplored would expire of themselves, while an open hostility might turn off attention from more important matters to these minor points, to the detriment of the Revival. That this was the reason of forbearing from prompt disciplinary measures, is asserted by one of the opposite party, who may be presumed competent testimony ;* and it is rendered highly probable by the fact that no sacraments were held during the winter months,† the roads in Kentucky being at that season nearly impassable.

As early as June, 1801, we find Mr. Lyle in a sermon at Lexington, giving marks of true illumination, and exhorting the people to guard against enthusiasm, which, like a worm, destroyed the beauty of a revival, and would ere long discredit the work of God. He warned them of the liability of ministers and people to err, and referred to the history of Whitefield's day, and Davenport's Retractions. He reproved the strolling parties, and urged the multitude to be as quiet as possible. Such admonitions were pleasing to some, but highly unpalatable to others.‡ After the Conference at Walnut Hill, in September following, and the rejection of Mr. Rice's Plan for regulating the Camps, the clergy and people became divided into two distinct parties—the Orthodox and the New Lights—one assuming the honorable style of "*Revival Men*," and affecting superior sanctity and zeal, and stigmatizing the other unjustly as "*Anti-Revival Men*."§ The latter were freely denounced as hindrances to the work, especially "old parson Rice,"|| as standing in the way ; as deists in heart ; and as having no religion ;¶ while on themselves only shone the effulgence of the New Light, irradiating them with the knowledge of "*The True New Gospel*." With the enthusiastic or New Light party, who were the most forward and noisy, the elder clergy and the more sober-minded soon lost their influence, and found themselves under the neces-

* McNemar, p. 27.

† Lyle, p. 58.

‡ Lyle, p. 15.

§ Lyle, p. 45. Stuart, Rem. No. II.

|| Lyle, p. 83.

¶ Lyle, pp. 54, 82. Cleland, Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. p. 339.

sity of looking on in silence and enduring evils which they could not check.*

The sacraments no longer presented the pleasing spectacle of brethren in unity. The stand was converted into an arena for controversy. If Stone promulgated his errors, Lyle and Cameron felt it to be their duty to counteract the subtle poison by broader exhibitions of the opposite truths.† If Blythe preached according to the Westminster Confession, Marshall took offence, supposing it to have been done out of contradiction to him.‡ In private he ridiculed Blythe for adhering so closely to the track of the Confession; and when taken aside for a conference by Lyle, Blythe, and McPheeters, he flew into a rage and accused them of misrepresenting him; though he afterwards professed to be reconciled.§

The persuasion that the power of exhortation after falling was a gift from Heaven, one of the "*manifestations of the Spirit*," mentioned in the twelfth chapter of 1st Corinthians, and a supernatural seal to the reality of the work within and upon them, was well adapted to feed spiritual pride and gratify the love of superiority and distinction so natural to the human heart. When Mr. Lyle remonstrated with a layman for praying aloud after falling, he replied that he must obey the dictate of his feelings; he complained that the interruption had destroyed his feelings; and said *it was suggested* to him that Mr. Lyle *had no religion*. When remonstrating with another enthusiast, he was told that he was not qualified to judge of a work which he had never felt in his own body, and that many of the old Christians were babes in Christ compared with young converts on the Cumberland.||

Exhortations to sinners, or even to ministers to deal faithfully and tenderly with such,¶ might be excused as ebullitions of deep and sincere feeling; but what can be said in defence of

* At the riotous Walnut Hill meeting, June, 1803, we find in the Diary the following entry: "Just at dusk I rose and claimed their attention, which, with difficulty, I obtained. I exhorted for a few minutes with some pathos, but without letting fall anything pointed on the subject of decency and order. Mr. Blythe also said a few words in a weeping, sorrowful mood, and, though his sorrows arose from the disorders he perceived, he considered his influence so far decreased that he said nothing about them." Lyle, p. 116.

† Lyle, pp. 118, 119.

‡ Lyle, p. 107.

§ Lyle, pp. 108, 110, 113.

|| Lyle, p. 83.

¶ Lyle, p. 70.

open upbraidings, reproofs, and personalities? The deluded creatures not seldom mistook their own censorious temper for the afflatus of the dove-like Spirit. "The general gift of exhortation," says McNemar, "was to search out the state of the sinner, convict him of sin, and warn him to fly from it; and they often came *so pointed*, even to *naming the person*, and *publicly arraigning him for specific crimes*, that often evil spirits, whose work is to cover iniquity and conceal sin, were stirred up to great fury. . . . To see a bold Kentuckian (undaunted by the horrors of war) turn pale and tremble at the reproof of a weak woman, a little boy, or a mean African; to see him sink down in deep remorse, roll and toss, and gnash his teeth, till black in the face; entreat the prayers of those he came to devour; and, through their fervent intercessions and kind instructions, obtain deliverance; and return in the possession of the meek and gentle spirit which he set out to oppose:—who would say the change was not supernatural and miraculous? Such *exorcisms*, or casting out of evil spirits, are justly ranked among the wonders which attended the *New Light*.*"

We have an example of this sort of upbraiding in the Mrs. B., who has been before mentioned as being so conspicuous on these occasions. Once, after writhing for some time, she broke out into a kind of prayer, in which she *charged the ministers with coldness and deadness* in religion, with too great attachment to the beggarly elements of this world, and with keeping back and discouraging the people of God. She also avowed her belief that the absence of some of them that evening was owing to slothfulness and fondness of earthly objects.†

While they gave vent to these hortatory impulses, instead of that soft, melting tone which betokens the presence of genuine sympathy, they too often wore the air and gestures of a Pythoness. One (a young man, a Methodist) is described as running among the throng, and calling on them to pray out, "*with apparent rage*;" another, (an old man,) obeying the call, and praying with "*clenched fists*;"‡ another, (a woman,) shrieking "Glory to God!" with wild and distracted eyes, and "when she spoke to sinners, *she looked like a fury*."§

* McNemar, p. 35.

† Lyle, p. 130.

‡ Lyle, p. 102.

§ Lyle, p. 47.

CHAPTER VII.

DISQUISITION UPON THE CAUSES OF THE BODILY AGITATIONS.

To account for these remarkable phenomena, different theories were adopted by different classes of people. One theory ascribed them to the agency of the Spirit of God ; a second, to the agency of an evil spirit ; while a third stigmatized the whole as deception and imposture.

That an *evil spirit* should have produced them, there is no reasonable ground to suppose. The belief in witchcraft and sorcery finds no enlightened advocates in our day. No parallel can be found in the Deimoniacs of Scripture, because these were neither affected by pungent convictions of sin, nor were they led to devotional exercises. It is undeniable, moreover, that even after deducting the backsliders, there were numerous instances of genuine conversion, especially at the first ; a result hardly compatible with the impious designs of Satanic agency.

As little ground is there for attributing these contortions to the special agency of the *Spirit of God*. Persons who made no pretensions to piety were affected in this manner, not excepting the deist and the blasphemer, who cursed the spasm that exposed them to ridicule. Violent gestures are nowhere in Scripture described as the usual marks or exercises of piety, though occasionally found in connection with it ; nor is any peculiar value or efficacy attached to them. We cannot suppose that the Spirit working *in the man* would contradict the Spirit speaking *in the word*. Since, therefore, the Spirit *speaking in the word* instructs us that "bodily exercise profiteth little ;" that "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints ;" that all things should be done "decently and in order ;"

that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" and that public worship should be conducted in a regular and edifying manner, in all its parts, praying, preaching and singing—in regard to which minute and specific directions are given in the 14th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians; we cannot believe that this same peaceful Spirit, operating *in the man*, will impel him to act in a manner directly the reverse of his previous teaching—a manner confused, noisy, tumultuous, and hostile to edification. As to visions and trances, they are of all species of gracious evidences the most fallacious. They establish nothing but the vivid and excited fancy of the individual, in a state bearing a resemblance to dreaming or somnambulism. "A dream cometh through the multitude of business," says the wise man; and the mind, engaged on devotional subjects in its ordinary state, will naturally dream them over again in the trance. And, to say no more, a vision is supported by no other testimony than that of the person who professes to have had it; nor is there any one to verify or to corroborate his narrative. "Let him that hath a dream, tell his dream," is the judicio *is* advice of Holy Writ; that is, let him disclose it if he chooses; but let him tell it only *as a dream*—let him be cautious how he represents it as a Divine revelation. The apostacy of numbers who pretended to be thus highly favored, gives melancholy evidence of the emptiness of their boasting.

Having disposed of the theories of Divine and Satanic agency, we come to the third, which solved every difficulty by the bold wholesale charge of *deception and imposture*. But this hypothesis we regard as utterly untenable. However some may have artfully counterfeited, for their own wicked purposes, as no doubt was done, it is incredible that so many persons of exemplary and respectable character would conspire in so vast a fraud. The matter is placed beyond a doubt, by the palpably involuntary nature of the exercises, in copious instances. The scoffer, the persecutor, the blasphemer, the infidel, who braced themselves up with premeditated resolution, or treated the work as a delusion, were seized with paroxysms which they could not prevent. The stories before narrated, of the young tanner, and the men whose concealed whips were jerked out of their hands, may be cited as examples. Several cases are offered in addition, collected out of Mr. Lyle's Diary.

Polly McB—— was unconscious of any change, and was amazed to find the people flocking round her, till, making an exertion to move, she found herself powerless. One F——, near Lexington, struggled for three hours against the disposition to fall, but had to yield at last. At Pleasant Point, on Stoner, a Miss G—— fell, after bitterly opposing the work. When Preston B—— fell at Cane Ridge, he appeared confounded, and said it was an unfortunate sight and a great mortification. He afterwards relapsed. One D—— dropped, as if shot, just after expressing his fears that the work was not right. A few days after he was seen intoxicated. One M—— threatened his swooning daughters that he would beat them if they ever came to such a place again, and fell with the words in his mouth. One E—— fell at Lexington, who had told an acquaintance if he fell he might put his foot on his neck and keep him down. One S——, a deist, fell at Cane Ridge, who had said he would not fall so for a thousand dollars, and who avowed his disbelief in heaven, hell or devil. He lay speechless for an hour, and then retracted, with apparent penitence; but three months after he relapsed. One H——, of Stoner, defied God and his angels to throw him down, but it proved to be an idle boast.*

The theories which imply either deception or superhuman agency must be abandoned. The only correct and satisfactory solution is found in *the influence of the imagination on the nervous system.*

That the body and the mind exert a strong influence reciprocally on each other, is a long admitted truism, nor is physiological science sufficiently matured to authorize the setting of definite limits to that influence. The wonders of Animal Magnetism and Clairvoyance cannot fail to surprise, even should the imagination be considered the cause instead of a supposed magnetic fluid.

Fear blanches the cheek; Shame suffuses it with a blush. Joy sparkles in the eyes; Sorrow bedews them with tears. Cheerfulness relaxes the muscles; Anger contracts them. Horror changes the raven locks into grey in the course of a single night. Intense Anxiety causes palpitation of the heart and trembling of the limbs. Depression of Spirits retards the circulation of the blood; while,

* Lyle, pp. 4, 11, 17, 19, 26, 31, 50.

on the contrary, the circulation, the respiration, the digestion, the bilious secretions, are accelerated by strong and vigorous emotions. Passions indulged to excess have proved fatal in many instances. A Greek expired with joy on learning that his two sons were crowned victors in the games. Claxton, the doorkeeper of Congress, dropped dead at the news of Cornwallis' capture. Valentinian I. died of a fit of anger, which convulsed his whole frame, and occasioned the bursting of a large blood-vessel.

The patients of Deslon, the colleague of Mesmer, were thrown into convulsions, they shivered, they burned, from the mere force of the imagination. The Investigating Committee, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, found them affected as powerfully when made to believe that Deslon was standing and operating behind a door, although he was really not there at all, as when he was present. When Perkins' Metallic Tractors were in vogue, in 1799, and were supposed to relieve rheumatism and nervous disorders, Dr. Haygarth found that wooden Tractors, shaped and painted to resemble those of metal, were equally efficacious in producing temporary relief.

Touching for the King's Evil, once so much in fashion that Charles II. touched no less a number than 23,601 applicants in five years, from 1660 to 1664, but which has now fallen into desuetude, furnishes another example of the power of the imagination.

The miraculous cures of Prince Hohenlohe, of Hungary, in the present century, should not be overlooked, involving, as they do, the occult principle of other like cures in the Romish Church, the principle of Faith. The son of an insane father, he was a man of weak intellect himself, and credulous from early youth. He conceived that in answer to his prayers the most wonderful cures were effected, and he found multitudes ready to repose confidence in him. Although his experiments in the Würzburg and Bamberg hospitals were a failure, there were not wanting numbers who fancied that they received benefit, while those who were disappointed ascribed the want of success to their weakness of faith. It was not even necessary to see him; it was sufficient to communicate with him by letter, and unite with him in a simultaneous concert of prayer at a given hour. It seems not to have occurred to the thaumaturgist and his suitors, that the clocks in

Hungary, and the West of Europe, necessarily disagreed, nor did it interpose any obstacle to success.*

Medical men are well aware of the influence of the mind on the body, and often avail themselves of the principles of mental science in the treatment of diseases. Confidence in the physician and his medicines, seems a condition indispensable to recovery; and hence they justify themselves in resorting to the artifices of deception and flattery to keep up the spirits of the patient, that hope may co-operate with the drugs. Despondency is death. Tissot relates a story of a woman who had sunk into a lethargy, from which she could not be roused. Knowing her ruling passion to be avarice, some one placed a piece of money in the palm of her hand, and gave it a forcible pressure. The fingers immediately and instinctively closed over it, and clutched it tightly. From that moment the powers of nature rallied.†

Borrichius cured a woman of an inveterate tertian ague by designedly exciting her irascibility.‡ The present accomplished President of Centre College, Dr. Young, like a cardinal of former times, owes his life to a facetious friend provoking him to laughter by a peal of merry anecdotes, at the instigation of his physician. The necessary stimulus was thus supplied; the diaphragm and its contiguous muscles were pleasantly agitated; the crisis was happily passed; and the dreaded chill completely prevented. Dr. E. F. Smith, of New Brunswick, once saved an epileptic patient from a fit, just as it was coming on, by exciting his anger.

Dr. Rush was once summoned to a consultation on the case of a woman who had been a playmate of his in early life. She afterwards married, and removed to Philadelphia, where they occasionally met, and indulged in agreeable reminiscences of their youthful pastimes, especially of a lofty tree on which an eagle had built her nest. This woman now lay in the lowest stage of a typhus fever. "Upon entering the room," says the doctor, "I caught her eye, and with a cheerful tone of voice, said only, '*the eagle's nest!*' She seized my hand, without being able to speak, and discovered strong emotions of pleasure in her coun-

* Encyclop. Americ., art. Hohenlohe.

† Rush's Introd. Lectures: Lect. XI. p. 263.

‡ Rees' Cyclop., art. Anger.

tenance, probably from a sudden association of all her early domestic connections and enjoyments with the words I had uttered. From that time she began to recover. She is now living, and seldom fails, when we meet, to salute me with the echo of '*the eagle's nest!*'**

A respectable physician has informed me of a practitioner who went so far as to discard the use of drugs, and substitute in lieu of them the force of the imagination alone. If vomiting was desired, instead of administering emetics, he took his seat by the patient, and himself imitated, like a fugleman, all the pantomime of a person under the influence of an emetic. He heaved, he retched, he made wry faces, as if nauseated, till at length the patient, through the sympathetic operation of the disgusting ideas suggested, was affected in good earnest. No tartar nor ipecacuanha could have produced a more decided effect. This will not appear surprising when it is borne in mind that one of Boerhaave's pupils felt in his own body the symptoms of every disease on which the professor lectured.

It were easy to multiply instances of the influence of the mind upon the body; those already cited abundantly suffice.

It cannot have escaped the attentive reader that a prominent part has been assigned to the condition of the Nerves by that most careful observer, Mr. Lyle. Nor is it to be omitted that this nervous condition ensued immediately upon the delivery of pungent and stimulating preaching or exhortation. That the character of the addresses in general was hortatory, vehement, and impassioned, is confirmed by unanimous testimony.† Sermons on the practical duties of religion operated as a quietus. Although doctrinal sermons were not abandoned, and even Mr. Stone is noted as having preached a high Calvinistic sermon on the Perseverance of the Saints,‡ yet as a general thing, the position above taken is undoubtedly correct. There can be little doubt that even the didactic discourses delivered, were accompanied with fervent and warm practical applications, while novelty gave zest to the harangues of the New Lights.§

* Rush's Introd. Lectures: Lect. XI. p. 267.

† Bibl. Repert. vol. vi., p. 351.

‡ Stuart's Rem. No. II. McNemar, p. 20. Powers p. 75.

§ Lyle, p. 109. "An unsolemn curiosity," he calls it.

The style of the discourses varied according to the various dispositions of the speakers. It is impossible to find any particular standard to which all the phenomena can be reduced as its legitimate effects. Some spoke in a plain, solemn and instructive way;* some in a highly decorated style;† and others in a desultory, incoherent, but lively manner.‡ There was one class who delighted in alarming the conscience with pictures of terror, and launched the thunders of Sinai with unsparing hand; of this sort were McGready, Rannels, Marshall, Houston, and McNemar. McNemar was desultory, but interspersed many good remarks; he was very animated and impressive, and exerted all his powers, both in preaching and singing. He would stamp with his foot, and slap the Bible, and roar "Hell and Damnation!" with a loud voice.§ But I cannot find that this style of preaching was the most effective. It was such sermons as were delivered with tenderness and tears that elicited the deepest emotions among the audience. The greater the pathos of the speaker, the greater was the ebullition of feeling; and copious floods of tears weakened and prostrated the corporeal organization to such a degree, as to prepare it for operations beyond the ordinary control of the will. The views of religious truths were very vivid, and overwhelming to the mind. "I never heard," says Mr. Lyle, "such earnest inquiry after Christ."|| So keen was the perception of sin and danger, that many were driven to despairing thoughts, and cried aloud, "I am lost! I am gone! The worst sinner in the world!"¶ Among professors, many fell; some filled with consternation for backsliding; others overcome by the holiest joy; others in an agony of distress for the condition of sinners.** In regard to the exhortations delivered by such as had fallen, Mr. Lyle says, "their orations consist of the plain and essential truths of the Gospel, that they themselves have been powerfully convinced of, but they speak them with all the feeling and pathos of which human nature, affected with the most important objects, is capable."††

Much of this agitation and tempest of feeling was merely of a dramatic character, and not the effect or proof of piety, being

* Lyle, pp. 31, 66.

† Lyle, p. 5.

‡ Lyle, p. 35.

¶ Lyle, 2.

§ Lyle, p. 40.

** Lyle, pp. 2, 5.

§ Lyle, p. 41.

†† Lyle, p. 30.

produced by nervous excitement, operating through the sympathetic connection of the mind and the body. The spectacle of women fainting was not uncommon in Drury Lane, under the consummate acting of Siddons. The same love of excitement and strong sensations which attracted crowds to the tragic sorrows of the theatre, no doubt drew thousands to the wild scenes of the camp-meeting.

The falling down in Kentucky seems to have been a species of epilepsy, which is a nervous disease coming in sudden paroxysms. Frequent and periodical fits of fainting are very often its precursor, easily induced in persons liable to hypochondria, hysteria, or lively sensibility. In epilepsy the patient falls suddenly, commonly with a cry, sometimes with, sometimes without a premonitory creeping or shivering from the extremities towards the vitals. Different parts of the body are more or less convulsed. To this succeed insensibility, a short, quiet breathing, interrupted by groans, foaming of the mouth, gnashing of the teeth, distortion and staring of the eyes, and a loss of control over the will. It lasts for ten or twenty minutes, when the patient wakes, unconscious of anything but fatigue and a little pain in his limbs.

That the nervous agitation was irrepressible by any exercise of volition after arriving at a certain point, must be conceded; but there is every reason to believe that in its incipient stages, before reaching "*the salient point*," they were subject to control. The late venerable Dr. Blythe, as he informed the author, once felt an attack of the kind coming on, from the effect of sympathy, like a pricking sensation in his extremities, but by a strong determination of will, succeeded in repressing its farther progress. He was also able to check the agitations in his congregation at Pisgah to some extent. There was a female who was particularly accustomed to indulge in outcries and convulsions, to the disturbance of public worship, but who restrained herself, in consequence of his decided menaces of having her carried out of the house on the next repetition of the offence. This corresponds with the Rev. Charles Wesley's experience. The noisiest of his auditors, became, in consequence of similar threats, as quiet as lambs.* About the year 1774, swoons and convulsions

* Southey's *Life of Wesley*, p. 148, 149.

very similar to those in Kentucky, became common in the parish of Northmaven, among the Shetland Islands, fifty or sixty being sometimes seized and carried out of the church on sacramental occasions, when the house was crowded, and struggling and roaring in the yard for five or ten minutes, when they would rise in perfect unconsciousness of what had happened. The annoyance was happily put an end to by a rough kirk-officer's tossing a particularly troublesome woman into a ditch of water. This unceremonious treatment, not only effectually cooled the woman's own zeal, but prevented others from imitating her example.*

The incident narrated in the biographical sketch of Mr. Lyle may also be adduced as a proof of those disorderly transports being subject to control; for upon his decided demand of silence in the house of God, the services proceeded without farther interruption, notwithstanding the minister of the place gave the extravagances his countenance, and expressed great displeasure at Mr. Lyle's interference.

Another fact, which shows the possibility of self-control, and that "the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets," is the uniform testimony of the old clergy, that in those congregations whose ministers discountenanced the extravagances, there was comparatively little disorder, while "confusion and every evil work" abounded where they received the encouraging patronage of the pastor.

Among the external circumstances which were supposed capable of checking or modifying the agitations, the consciousness of approaching maternity, or the having an infant in the arms, have been specified;† but this last cannot be so, for a highly respectable physician‡ informed the author that he once saw a woman with an infant in her arms, whom curiosity had led to mount the stand for the sake of a better prospect, but who, being suddenly seized, fell backward and let the child drop from her arms. Fortunately some one below perceived the transaction, and caught the infant before it fell to the ground, a distance of some ten feet, so that it sustained no injury.

It is moreover a curious, but not mysterious, fact, that the

* Rees' Cyclopaedia, art. Imitation.

† Powers, p. 75.

‡ Dr. Churchill C. Blackburn, of Woodford county, Ky.

leaders could manage the tumult, increasing or diminishing the frenzy at pleasure. Dr. Cleland informs us of experiments made by him in the early part of his ministry. In the midst of his discourse, he would on a sudden change from a smooth and gentle style to the expression of awful and alarming ideas, when a dozen or twenty persons would instantly and simultaneously commence jerking as they sat, with a suppressed noise, once or twice, like the barking of a dog. As the strain of the discourse varied, the condition of the people corresponded. Riding one day with the wife of one of his elders, from a neighboring town where she had been purchasing goods, he secretly resolved to try an experiment upon her. Although she had been affected with the jerks on previous occasions, she was at this moment entirely free from them. The conversation was of an everyday character, and even purposely directed into a free and jocular vein, and her mind was completely diverted from serious emotions. All at once, without any warning, Dr. Cleland turned the conversation to topics of a devout and solemn character. Before two minutes had elapsed, her body began to be violently agitated, pitching upward and forward from the saddle halfway to the horse's neck, six or eight times in a minute.*

The rapid propagation of these convulsions among a crowd by Sympathy, is worthy of notice. So strong were the belief and fear of their contagious nature, that many were deterred from attending public worship in consequence.† A few shrieks were sufficient to rouse the most languid assembly. Mr. Lyle narrates an instance that occurred in a private house in Paris, where a company of persons sat singing. One lady falling, a second and a third became agitated, then three little girls, and a negro woman.‡

Medical writers furnish us with numerous examples of sympathetic or imitative influence. Not only are the panics of armies, the furies of mobs, the propensity to laugh or to yawn, explained by this principle; but convulsions, Chorea Sancti Viti, and epilepsies, have been known to be propagated in this way. All the children in a poor-house at Haarlem, were seized with fits from having seen one of their number so attacked; nor

* Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. p. 343.

† Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. p. 344.

‡ Lyle, p. 128.

could any stop be put to this calamity, until Dr. Boerhaave, sagaciously interdicting the exhibition of medicine, directed his remedies to the mind. Having introduced several portable furnaces, he ordered, with great solemnity, that certain crooked irons should be heated, and applied to the arm of the first individual that was taken. It is hardly necessary to add that there was no necessity for the application.*

There was a family of six children in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, one of whom being afflicted with St. Vitus's dance, the rest imitated his gestures for sport, until they came to be as irresistibly affected as he. It was at last checked by their father preparing a block and axe, and threatening to take off the head of the first transgressor, the original sufferer excepted. The result was as successful as in the former case.†

In a convent of French nuns, one of the number was impelled by a strange fancy to imitate the mewing of a cat. The propensity communicated itself to the rest, and became universal among the sisterhood, till at last they had regular hours for joining together in the practice. In a German convent, in the fifteenth century, one of the nuns was seized with a disposition to bite her companions, and the whole sisterhood by degrees caught the same frenzy.‡

These were all undoubted examples of the imagination acting on the nervous system by sympathy.

Edwards also has spoken of the bodily affections of his time being quickly propagated among the spectators, especially the young.§

We have already seen instances of the force of sympathy in religious assemblies in the references made to the experience of Charles Wesley, and the convulsions in the parish of North-maven. To these we may add the wild commotions of the French Prophets, about the year 1688. The French Prophets or Camisards|| appeared in the mountains of the Cevennes, among the descendants of the Waldenses and Albigenses, instigating them to resist the dragoons and fine-collectors of that

* Rees' Cyclop. art. Imitation.

† Powers, p. 32.

‡ McGavin, vol. ii. p. 735.

§ Hodge's Const. Hist. Part II. p. 51.

|| So called from disguising themselves in a frock or shirt, (in the Italian. *camicia*.)

insane persecutor, Louis XIV. From a few hundreds, the number soon amounted to thousands, of both sexes, claiming to be inspired of the Holy Ghost. When about to receive the gift of prophecy, they were affected in a manner very similar to the Kentucky New Lights, trembling, and falling down in swoons, striking themselves with their hands, closing their eyes, and heaving their breasts. No matter where they were when the fit came on, whether in their assemblies, in their houses, or in the fields, they fell. The symptoms have been compared to those attending the inhaling of nitrous oxyde gas. They lay for some time in trances, during which they had visions of heaven, hell, and the angels. Their effusions consisted of alternate cries for "Mercy!" imprecations against the Pope, and predictions of his approaching downfall. They boldly declared the millennium, the first resurrection, and the new Jerusalem, to be at hand—attested by signs and wonders, and about to come to pass in the space of three years. They pretended to the gifts of tongues, of healing, and even of raising the dead. They were, after an obstinate struggle, finally put down by force.* A few fled to England and succeeded in making two or three hundred proselytes. They were disowned by the French refugees, and prosecuted, at their instigation, as disturbers of the peace.†

Another analogous instance of epidemical convulsions occurred in 1742, in the parish of Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, Scotland. A powerful and extensive revival of religion pervaded the parish in consequence of the indefatigable zeal of the minister, who was an admirer of Whitefield. Numbers were convicted of sin under his preaching, and were thrown into the greatest agony about the state of their souls. Not only did they utter the most piercing cries, their bodies were violently agitated, clapping of the hands, beating of the breast, shaking, trembling, fainting, convulsions, and sometimes copious bleeding at the nose, attested the stormy tumult within. The minister promoted the uproar by urging them not to stifle but to encourage their convictions, and spent most of the night in exhorting and praying with them. The contagious force of sympathy was evidently manifested here. The shriek or the shout never rose from one

* Relig. Encycl. art. Camisars. Encycl. Amer. art. Cevennes.

† Smollett's Hist. of Engl. note EE. p. 916.

individual without others joining in the outcry, in the same or similar words.*

Bodily agitations have not been without repeated precedents in European countries. In the West of Scotland, in 1625, many persons, under powerful convictions of sin, fell down and were carried out of the church; and in Ireland, three years later, numbers were elevated above the necessity of food or sleep.† So late as 1843, falling down and other bodily agitations occurred extensively in the parish of St. Kilda.‡ Even the isles of the South Pacific have not been strangers to the same phenomena. A powerful revival occurred in 1840 upon the island of Tutuila, under the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, when, besides weeping, and groans, and “dreadful wailings,” the following scene occurred during public worship:—“Women were carried out by dozens, convulsed and struggling, so as to drive five or six men about like trees in the wind, who were exerting all their strength to hold and convey them away. I had heard of beating breasts and tearing hair before, but I have now seen and shall not soon forget it. The weaker sex was not alone affected; many men were carried out lifeless as stones, and many could scarcely be removed because of their awful convulsive strugglings. . . . When quietness was regained, the remainder of the people drew up towards the pulpit, and the chapel, which had been overflowing before, was left nearly one-third empty.§

The early career of John Wesley was marked by great disorders, as appears from his Journals. He records numerous instances of persons dropping to the ground under preaching, “as if struck with lightning;” ten or a dozen praying at once; dreams, visions, and other vagaries.|| These things Mr. Wesley was, at first, disposed to ascribe to supernatural agency, sometimes divine, sometimes satanic;¶ but his opinions afterward underwent a change, and he censured these excesses as “bringing the real work into contempt.”***

* Rees' Cyclop. art. Imitation.

† Fleming's Fulfilling of Scripture, pp. 185, 186.

‡ Presbyt. vol. xiii. p. 147.

§ Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 103.

|| Warburton's Doctr. of Grace, vol. i. pp. 106, 108, 109; vol. ii. pp. 43, 46, 58, 63, 66. Powers, p. 89. Hodge, Part II. p. 90.

¶ Doctr. of Grace, vol. i. p. 109; vol. ii. p. 63.

*** Powers, p. 90.

The revivals which took place in 1735 and 1742, of which the elder Edwards has given so full and luminous an account, were accompanied with similar bodily agitations to those witnessed in Kentucky. There were repeated instances of fainting, falling, trances, numbness, convulsions, and outcries.* Some even lost their reason.† He narrates the surprising conversions of two children, one nine, the other only four, years old.‡ There were not wanting, but in a less degree, examples of several speaking or crying out at once; of undue reliance on direct impressions made on the imagination, (as visions of a bleeding Christ or a blazing hell;) of neglect of external order; of more freedom than usual in the intercourse between the sexes; of spiritual pride; of a censorious disposition; of angry controversy; of divided churches; of fanatical presumption; of false theology; of spurious conversions; of apostacies by thousands; which led to a subsequent lethargy of half a century.§ “Select,” says the historian of The Great Awakening, “ten places, where the revivals were the most pure, and orderly, and unexceptionable. The occurrence of ten such revivals now, in orthodox churches under the guidance of pastors of good repute, would fill the land with consternation. It is no wonder that good, judicious, sober men were alarmed; that they thought the conversion of some hundreds or thousands had been purchased at too dear a rate; that they pronounced the revival a source of more evil than good; and, on the whole, itself an evil.” . . . There was, indeed, abundant cause to apprehend evil, and to be active in opposing it, and setting bounds to its progress. In this work, Edwards lamented that he had not dared, in the earlier stages of the revival, to do what he afterward saw to have been his duty, lest he should do mischief.” But Edwards, though the ardent apologist of those revivals, was careful to discriminate between genuine and spurious marks of grace; and while he admitted that deep, religious emotions, like strong emotions of any other kind, might affect the body, as in the case of Daniel,

* Edwards on Revivals, pp. 138, 248.

† Ibid. p. 131.

‡ Ibid. pp. 46, 97.

§ Ibid. pp. 256, 270, 292, 319, 327, 336, 351. Tracy's Great Awakening, pp. 432, 433. Hodge's Const. Hist. Part II. pp. 41, 49, 50, 65, 68, 69, 86, 108, 115.

Habbakuk, and John, he discouraged reliance on them as essential evidence of a gracious state.*

It is worthy of note, that in consequence of the sedulous care of the clergy, and owing to the wholesome warnings of Edwards' narratives, the extensive revival with which New England was blessed about the years 1797 and 1800, contemporaneously with that in the western country, was deformed by none of the excesses or improprieties which had exposed the revival of 1742 to reproach.†

Converging into one focal point the scattered rays from so many quarters, the conclusion to which we arrive is briefly as follows:—That we must seek an explanation of the phenomena exhibited in Kentucky at the commencement of the present century, in THE INFLUENCE OF THE IMAGINATION UPON THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, originally stimulated by earnest hortatory preaching, venting itself in vehement ebullitions of ANIMAL EXCITEMENT, and easily propagated by the natural operation of the laws of SYMPATHY; in all which there was nothing peculiar or unprecedented, except the greatness of the masses affected, and the novelty or oddity of some of the motions introduced.

As to the errors and irregularities of the time, while they are to be deplored, yet must considerable allowance be made in the judgment of charity. After so great a deadness and so long a spiritual dearth as had prevailed, we should not be surprised to find, on people's first waking up from such a state, that they who had previously known little or nothing of the operations of the Holy Spirit, should fall into many errors, or mistake every strong enthusiastic impulse for a divine impression. The remarks of Edwards are very applicable here: "If we look back," says he, "into the history of the Church of God in past ages, we may observe that it has been a common device of the devil to overset a revival of religion, when he finds he can keep men quiet and secure no longer, then to drive them to excesses and extravagances. He holds them back as long as he can, but when he can do it no longer, then he will push them on, and, if possible, run them upon their heads." And again: "the devil

* Ib. p. 248. Treatise on the Affections, (Bost. ed. 1768,) pp. 49–54.

† Connecticut Evang. Mag. vol. ii. Powers, p. 73. Baird's Relig. in Amer. p. 200.

has driven the *pendulum* far beyond its proper point of rest ; and when he has carried it to the utmost length that he can, and it begins by its own weight to swing back, he probably will set in, and drive it with the utmost fury the other way, and so give us no rest, and if possible prevent our settling in a proper medium.”*

From the revolting excesses and irregularities that accompanied the Revival, let us turn to a more pleasing aspect of the case, and inquire into its *Beneficial Results*. That it was attended by beneficial consequences, especially during the earlier stages of its progress, is undeniable. Whether that good was of sufficient weight to counterbalance the varied evils introduced, is a question not so easily settled. If the good was general and permanent, and the evils only incidental,—such as the sweeping away of fences and dams by a deluge of rain after a long and distressing drought,—a judicious discrimination will easily overlook the lesser evil ; but, on the contrary, if the evil be found to be extensive and enduring, and the good limited and partial, sincere regrets will be awakened in every pious heart.

Besides numerous genuine conversions, doubtless occurring through the whole course of the Revival, its commencement was marked with a splendor of success that dazzled while it enchanted the observer. The late Dr. George Baxter of Virginia, then a young man, visited Kentucky in October, 1801, and spent a month in attendance on the meetings, and in intercourse with the leading clergy.† He afterwards communicated an account of what he had witnessed in a letter to his friend Dr. Archibald Alexander.‡ This letter was published in the religious magazines of the day, and attracted considerable

* Edwards on Revivals, pp. 264, 368.

† Lyle records his preaching at Salem Sacrament the last Sabbath of Oct., and at Jessamine the 1st Sabbath of Nov., 1801, when “people were tolerably lively.” Diary, pp. 56, 57.

‡ This letter was written shortly after his visit to Kentucky, and before the results of the revival could be accurately traced. Dr. Baxter afterwards changed his opinion in regard to many things of which he at first pronounced a favorable judgment. He came to the conclusion that there was much that was false, erratic, and unholy, in the manner of conducting the work ; and it was his intention to publish an explanation of his views, especially when he found the New York Evangelist a few years ago republishing his letter, in support of New Measures. This intention, which he communicated to Dr. Alexander, was, however, defeated by his death. See a letter of the last-named divine in the Presbyterian for Sept. 26, 1846.

attention. From some quarters the position of the writer was sharply controverted, and drew forth from him a warm defence. The description which he gave of the reformation of manners after the deplorable prevalence of vice and infidelity, is very striking :

“ On my way to Kentucky,” says Mr. Baxter, “ I was informed by settlers on the road, that the character of *Kentucky travellers* was entirely changed : and that they were now as remarkable for sobriety as they had formerly been for dissoluteness and immorality. And indeed I found Kentucky, to appearance, *the most moral place* I had ever seen. A profane expression was hardly ever heard. A religious awe seemed to pervade the country ; and some deistical characters had confessed, that from whatever cause the revival might proceed, it made the people better. Its influence was not less visible in promoting a *friendly temper* among the people. . . . Some neighborhoods visited by the revival were formerly notorious for private animosities and contentions ; and many petty lawsuits had commenced on that ground. When the parties in these quarrels were impressed with religion, the first thing was to send for their antagonists, and it was often very affecting to see their meeting. They had both seen their faults, and both contended they ought to make the acknowledgments, till at last they were obliged to request one another to forbear all mention of the past, and to receive each other as friends and brothers for the future.”*

Dr. Furman of Charleston, South Carolina, in a letter to Dr. Rippon of London, dated Aug. 11th, 1802, expressed his sentiments in regard to the camp-meetings as follows : “ I hope *the direct good* obtained from these meetings *will much more than counterbalance the incidental evil.*”†

In June, 1803, Mr. Lyle, who will not be suspected of too favorable a bias, was present at a sacramental meeting at Paris which was far from being free from the usual extravagances, and where he delivered a sermon of two hours' length upon the subject of order and many praying at once. Yet of an

* West. Miss. Mag. vol. i. pp. 260, 261. Connecticut Evang. Mag. 1802, vol. ii. p. 354.

† Benedict's Hist. of the Baptists, vol. ii. p. 171.

address he made subsequently he remarks, "I told them what satisfaction it gave me to find *so many who set out two years ago now fervently engaged, &c.* Urged them to diligence at home and in every walk of life."*

The venerable David Rice in his "Second Epistle" to the Christians, especially to the Presbyterians, of Kentucky, published in 1808, whose testimony is likewise the more weighty on account of his open and consistent opposition to the novel measures employed, penned this paragraph in the midst of a rehearsal of the evils he condemned: "That we had *a revival of the spirit and power of Christianity* amongst us, I did, do, and ever shall believe, until I see evidence to the contrary, which I have not yet seen; but we have sadly mismanaged it; we have dashed it down and broken it in pieces. Though I hope *a number will have reason to bless God for it to all eternity*, yet we have not acted as wise master-builders, who have no need to be ashamed."†

The opinion of the General Assembly of 1804 is not to be disregarded. They say, in the Narrative of the State of Religion, that "although through the subtlety of the adversary of souls, and the influence of human frailty, some errors, extravagances, and instances of reproachful behavior, have taken place, which the Assembly do sincerely regret, and most unequivocally disapprove and condemn; yet are they happy to learn, and it is a sacred duty, which they owe to the churches to announce, that, notwithstanding the malignity with which the enemies of religion have studied to misrepresent, and rejoiced to exaggerate these undesirable events, they are chiefly confined to one district of no great extent; *and they are certainly very rare, considering the immense region through which this work has prevailed, and the vast variety of characters who have been its subjects.*"‡

To all this may be added the testimony of Dr. Cleland, in a paper prepared by him and published in the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review in 1834. After the lapse of thirty years, when he could take a cool and dispassionate review of those

* Lyle's Diary, p. 131.

† Bishop's Mem. of Rice, p. 367.

‡ Serious Address from the Synod of Kentucky to the Churches under their care, 1804, p. 14.

exciting scenes in which he had himself been an actor, he recorded as follows: "The work, at first, was no doubt a *glorious work of the Spirit of God*. . . . Many persons within my knowledge became *hopefully pious*, the most of whom *continue* unto the present, and many have *fallen asleep in Jesus*. The number of *apostates* were *much fewer* than might be supposed. Indeed, when I look back on those times, I greatly wonder that there were not ten for one. The Presbyterian Church suffered greatly, lost many members, more ministers *proportionably*, than others; but *she continued unconsumed*, and was much better prepared, by practical knowledge, and dear-bought experience, for the next revival than she was before."*

The sentiments of Mr. Marshall on this subject, recorded in a calm moment of retrospective reflection, will not be considered as out of place. He says, "While we have no doubt but the revival was a real, and in some respects, a great work of the Divine Spirit, yet it produced, perhaps, much less good fruit than most other revivals of the same extent."†

Mr. McGready's opinion may be worth adding, although it detracts much from its weight that he published a "Vindication of the Exercises of the Revival," and excused, where he did not defend, the falling down and cramp, the shrieks and outcries, the boisterous confusion "*after worship*," the dancing and wheeling, the smiling and laughing.‡ But he furnishes also more rational and scriptural tests of the genuineness of the work, when he states the permanent effects to have been "a deep, rational, and scriptural conviction; a view of the glory, sufficiency, and willingness of Christ to save; a loving, benevolent disposition; a knowledge of Christ and divine things; and a change in the hearts and lives of the genuine subjects of the word."§

Finally, the sentiments of the venerable Dr. Alexander, recently published, and matured after so long an interval of time, will not be read without interest. "Many facts," says he, "which occurred at the *close* of the revival, were of such a nature, that judicious men were fully persuaded that there was much that was wrong in the manner of conducting the work, and that an erratic and enthusiastic spirit prevailed to a lamentable extent.

* Bibl. Repert. vol. vi. pp. 337, 341.

† Posthumous Works, pp. 451-458.

‡ Marshall's MSS.

§ Posth. Works, p. 453.

It is not doubted, however, *that the Spirit of God was really poured out, and that many sincere converts were made, especially in the commencement of the revival*; but too much indulgence was given to a heated imagination, and too much stress was laid on the bodily affections which *accompanied the work*, as though these were supernatural phenomena, intended to arouse the attention of a careless world. Thus, what was really a bodily infirmity, was considered to be a supernatural means of awakening and convincing infidels and other irreligious persons. And the more these bodily affections were encouraged, the more they increased, until at length they assumed the appearance of a formidable *nervous disease*, which was manifestly contagious, as might be proved by many well-attested facts. Some of the *disastrous* results of this religious excitement were: 1st. *A spirit of error*, which led many, among whom were some Presbyterian ministers, who had before maintained a good character, far astray. 2d. *A spirit of schism*. 3d. *A spirit of wild enthusiasm*. And the truth is—and it should not be concealed—that the general result of this great excitement was an almost total desolation of the Presbyterian Churches in Kentucky, and part of Tennessee.*

How obvious, on the review of such histories as the preceding, is the mixture of imperfection that stains everything human! The head may be of gold, but the observant eye cannot fail to detect the deterioration of the baser extremities, part of iron and part of clay. Truly is the treasure said to be committed to earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may evidently be of God and not of man; and there was deep meaning couched under that wise provision of the Mosaic ritual, which required an *atonement* to be made for the very *altar*. The Church may learn, from these lessons of the past, the wisdom of the apostle's advice to exercise great caution in the employment of novices; the danger of new measures and fancied improvements; the mischiefs of zeal without knowledge, and enthusiasm without order; the evil of false charity and forbearance; the duty of early resistance to insidious errors, and of crushing the young cockatrice in the shell; and the value of firmness and decision in the exercise of discipline.

* Dr. Alexander's Letter to the Editor of the Watchman and Observer, dated Sept. 5th, 1846, and republished in the Presbyterian of Sept. 26th, 1846.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW LIGHT SCHISM.

THE management of the revival having gradually fallen under the complete control of those who proved the enemies of truth and order, the dissatisfaction of the orthodox became more and more visible, and a division into two clearly defined parties was the inevitable result. To these parties were given by the former, the names of *Revival* and *Anti-Revival* men.* By the latter opprobrious title, the enthusiasts stigmatized the friends of orthodoxy, and sought to make them odious in the eyes of the people; nor is it to be denied that to a great extent they succeeded. The contagion of enthusiasm is irresistible, and the tumultuous multitude are easily carried away by the appearance of zeal. They themselves began to be known familiarly by the epithet *New Lights*.

Mr. Lyle and others at first contented themselves with private expostulations with the leaders of the party, and with guarded cautions in their public addresses respecting the necessity of decorum; but good Father Rice thought something more decided was necessary. Accordingly, at a sacrament at Walnut Hill, the first Sabbath of August, 1801, besides "exhorting powerfully against noise and false exercise," he invited the ministers present to convene at the house of Mr. Crawford, the pastor. There he read to them a paper of which mention has been made before. But from his views the leaders of the Revival or New Light party, Messrs. Crawford,† Marshall, Stone,

* Stuart's Rem. No. II. W. Presb. Her. vol. vi. No. 23

† Mr. Crawford's death shortly after, in March, 1803, prevented that open avowal of his sympathy with the New Lights which he undoubtedly felt. Lyle's Diary, p. 15. Stuart's Rem. No. II. W. Presb. Her. vol. vi. No. 23.

Thompson, Dunlavy, and McNemar, vehemently dissented; and wherever they went, failed not to misrepresent him, and those who agreed with him, as opposers of the revival. While the sober-minded and judicious were thus more and more alienated, they gathered round them all those who were of an enthusiastic temperament, who loved to be free from restraint and control, and who labored under the delusion that to oppose the extraordinary and apparently preternatural movements, was to quench the Spirit.*

Meanwhile, the Synod of Kentucky had been erected. The first meeting was held, agreeably to the direction of the General Assembly, in the Presbyterian Church, in Lexington, on Tuesday, October 14th, 1802. Mr. Rice preached the opening sermon and was immediately after elected Moderator. Mr. Marshall was chosen Clerk. The number of members present was thirty, of whom seventeen were ministers and thirteen elders. The total number of ministers within the bounds was thirty-seven. The majority of Transylvania Presbytery were absent, including the whole of the Green river ministers. As it may be gratifying to some readers to know the individuals who constituted the Synod at this period, their names are here recorded.

OF THE PRESBYTERY OF TRANSYLVANIA.

MINISTERS.—*Present.*—David Rice, Saml. Finley, Matt. Houston, Saml. Robertson, Archd. Cameron.

Absent.—Thomas Craighead, Terah Templin, James Balch, James McGready, Wm. Hodge, Jno. Bowman, Wm. McGee, Jno. Rankin, Saml. Donald, Wm. Mahon, Saml. McAdow, Jno. Howe, James Vance, Jerem. Abel.

ELDERS.—Andrew Wallace, James Bigham, Court Voris, [Voorhees.]

OF THE PRESBYTERY OF WEST LEXINGTON.

MINISTERS.—*Present.*—James Crawford, Saml. Shannon, Isaac Tull, Robt. Marshall, James Blythe, James Welch, Joseph P. Howe, Saml. Rannels, John Lyle, Wm. Robinson.

Absent.—Barton W. Stone.

ELDERS.—James Bell, Robt. Maffet, Malcolm Worley, Wm.

* Stuart's Rem. No. II. West. Presb. Herald, vol. vi. No. 23.

Scott, Joseph Walker, Wm. McConnel, Saml. Hayden, Wm. Henry.

OF THE PRESBYTERY OF WASHINGTON.

MINISTERS.—*Present.*—James Kemper, John P. Campbell, Richd. McNemar, John Thompson, Jno. Dunlavy.

Absent.—John E. Finley, Matt. G. Wallace.

ELDERS.—Robt. Gill, Jno. Campbell.

The Synod was composed of the three Presbyteries of Transylvania, West Lexington, and Washington. During the session, the Presbytery of Cumberland was set off from Transylvania.*

At the second meeting of the Synod in Lexington, Sept. 6, 1803,† several petitions, with sundry other papers, were laid before Synod, drawing their attention to the fact that erroneous doctrines were promulgated by Messrs. McNemar and Thompson. The whole subject was brought up for final consideration on the review of the records of Washington Presbytery, to which they belonged. From the report of the Committee of Review, it appears, that the Presbytery had cast under the table a petition from Lamme and others, (amounting to eighty in all,) inculcating the orthodoxy of Messrs. McNemar and Thompson, and had taken no farther notice of it, although involving matters of the greatest importance. Even on the supposition that the implications were believed to be groundless, it was due to those two ministers to give them an opportunity to vindicate their characters, and to expose their calumniators. But, on the contrary, so far from taking this correct and constitutional course, the case presented a still worse aspect. It appeared that, at a former session, McNemar had been convicted upon an orderly examination, of holding Arminian tenets, and for this stood condemned on the minutes; yet, notwithstanding this fact, and the petitions against him, the Presbytery allowed a call to be placed in his hands.‡

Some discussion arose whether two out of three Presbyte-

* Minutes of Synod of Ky., vol. i. p. 1-3.

† Min. of Synod, i. 15.

‡ Min. of Synod, i. pp. 15, 17, 18. Min. Wash. Pby, pp. 78-81. Synod's Circular, p. 15. The apparent inconsistency of the Presbytery's proceedings is explained by the fact, that at the latter meeting, Mr. McNemar's friends constituted the majority. Synod's Circular, p. 18.

ries, in case of the reprehension of the third, could form a quorum to do business; but the question being decided affirmatively, Synod proceeded to consider the matter before them. The conclusions they arrived at were as follows: They approved the Presbytery's examination of McNemar,* and their publication to the churches of the dangerous and unconstitutional character of his tenets; and they pronounced them not orderly, in making appointments for him at the same session in which they had censured him, in rejecting the petition of Lamme and others, and in permitting a call to be issued to Mr. McNemar while he lay under a vote of censure.†

Synod now proposed to enter on an examination and trial of Messrs. McNemar and Thompson, agreeably to the prayer of the petitioners. On Saturday, pending the discussion, Messrs. Marshall, Stone, McNemar, Thompson, and Dunlavy, offered a protest against the forementioned decisions in the case of Washington Presbytery; and a declaration that they withdrew from the jurisdiction of Synod. The paper was spread on the minutes.‡

Messrs. Cameron, Campbell, and Joseph P. Howe, were appointed a committee to write to Lamme and his co-petitioners, assuring them of the Synod's strict adherence to the Confession of Faith, and touching such other points as were necessary. Messrs. Rice, Houston, and Welch, to whom was afterwards added Joseph P. Howe, were appointed a committee to confer with the seceding brethren, and reclaim them.§

Aroused to the necessity of more faithfully indoctrinating the churches, Synod next appointed Messrs. Blythe, Lyle, and Stuart, a committee to pray leave of the General Assembly to have printed, for the use of the West, a thousand copies of Robert Aitkin's edition of the *Confession of Faith* in 1799. In consequence of this request, a number of copies were subsequently sent by the Assembly, and distributed at the price of one dollar each; the balance remaining on hand, in 1805, were sold at fifty

* There were, on this proposition, seventeen ayes to six nays, and one non-liquet. The nays were Robert Marshall, James Welch, Barton W. Stone, Wm. Robertson, [or Robinson,] ministers; David Purviance, and Malcolm Worley, elders.

† Min. of Syn. i. 18-22.

§ Min. of Syn. i. 30.

‡ Min. of Syn. i. 25.

cents per copy. The Synod also enjoined punctual attention to catechizing, especially of the blacks.*

On Monday, Sept. 12th, the Committee of Conference reported that the aforesaid seceders would confer with the Synod only as a body, and in writing; to which the Synod refused to accede.† The next day, these five individuals came personally before Synod, and informed them that they had constituted themselves into a separate Presbytery; whereupon, in view of the measures previously taken, and of this open evidence of schism, Synod proceeded to suspend them from the office of the ministry; leaving it to the several presbyteries to restore them upon satisfactory proof of repentance. Their pulpits were also declared vacant. Messrs. Blythe, Lyle, Welch, and Stuart, were appointed a committee to draft a circular letter to the churches, explanatory of the Synod's actions, and promotive of the peace and unity of the Church. Just on the eve of adjournment, a letter was received from the suspended members, read, and placed on file. It was merely a high-flown panegyric on Christian Love.‡

Matters having now come to a crisis, and a separation being actually made, the war commenced in earnest. The schismatics entered on a course of sleepless activity. The five suspended ministers, already highly popular, exerted themselves to the utmost to attract the multitude; and, appealing to their sympathy as persecuted persons, endeavored to convert the censures of the Church into so much additional capital in their own favor. A torrent of mad enthusiasm swept over the entire territory of the Synod, threatening an extensive subversion of truth and order. Several tracts and pamphlets were published, breathing a spirit of confident exultation, and indulging in the boldest language of anticipated triumph.§ Such progress was made, that before the end of the year 1804, there were regular societies organized on completely democratic principles, at Turtle Creek,

* Min. of Syn. i. 31, 49, 72.

† The vote was twelve nays to seven yeas; Yeas—Houston, James Henderson, Welsh, Howe, Robinson, Wardlow, McPheeters. Nays—Cameron, Moore, Tull, Blythe, Lyle, Stuart, Rannels, John Henderson, Kemper, Bennington, John Campbell, Samuel C. Findley. Min. of Syn. i. 34.

‡ Min. of Syn. i. 33–41. It is quoted at length, in Stone's reply to Campbell's *Strictures*, p. 62.

§ Bishop's Rice, p. 131.

Eagle Creek, Springfield, Orangedale, Salem, Beaver Creek, and Clear Creek, in the State of Ohio; Cabin Creek, Flemingsburg, Concord, Cane Ridge, Indian Creek, Bethel, Paint Lick, and Shawnee Run, in Kentucky; besides a great multitude of like sentiments dispersed through Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania. These persons are described by McNemar, as "praying, shouting, jerking, barking, or rolling; dreaming, prophesying, and looking, as through a glass, at the infinite glories of Mount Zion, just about to break open upon the world.*"

An extraordinary shower of a reddish hue, readily believed to be blood, which fell during the summer in the vicinity of Turtle Creek Meeting-House, was eagerly seized on as a convincing illustration of the prophecy of Joel, and an additional confirmation of the approaching advent of the Millennial Glory.†

That they might forestall public opinion, and justify their proceedings in the eyes of the world, the five New Light ministers, having associated themselves together under the name of the Presbytery of Springfield, lost no time in issuing from the press a pamphlet, which they entitled their "Apology."‡ They now stood unequivocally committed in print upon the subject of doctrine as well as of order; denying the positions of the Confession of Faith in regard to the Divine decrees, the Atonement, and the special influences of the Spirit in the production of Faith. They maintained that all creeds and Confessions ought to be rejected; and that the Bible alone, without note or comment, should be the bond of Christian fellowship. In explanation of their apparent inconsistency in organizing a Presbytery, and constituting distinct societies, they professed to consider these forms, only as offering a temporary asylum for those who were cast out, as David placed his parents with the King of Moab, "till they would know what God would do for them." They regarded the Presbytery of Springfield "as providentially formed to cover the truth from the impending storm, and check the lawless career of opposition." It is sufficiently evident that these misguided men

* McNemar's Hist. of Rev. p. 69.

† McNemar, p. 68.

‡ An Apology for renouncing the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky. Printed in Lexington, 1804. It was reprinted in Virginia and in Georgia. McNemar, p. 79.

had launched upon the uncertain sea of experiment without any fixed principles to guide them ; they were all the time in a transition-state ; and furnish a pitiable instance of the character described so graphically by St. Paul, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." We need not, therefore, be surprised to find them deviating more and more widely at each remove, and falling at last into the wildest speculations.

The Committee of the Synod were not on their part idle. The "*Circular Letter*," from the pen of Mr. Lyle, was published contemporaneously with the "*Apology* ;" and furnished to the churches an able exposition of the grounds of the Synod's action. It consisted of thirty-six pages, 18mo., and contained a narrative of the late transactions, with copious extracts from the minutes ; argued the question of jurisdiction, and set forth the pernicious nature of schism. It was a well-written document ; manly, decided, and perspicuous ; sound in its reasoning ; and fortified by apt citations from Stuart's Collection of the Acts of the Church of Scotland, the Collection of Confessions, the Forms of Process of the Church of Scotland, and the historians Mosheim, Robertson and Dupin.*

But in order to bring the campaign to a speedy close by a brilliant *coup de main*, and completely unhinge, to borrow their favorite phraseology, the brazen gates of Babylon,† an appointment was made for a "General Meeting of Christians," seven miles below Lexington, at Bethel, (Mr. Marshall's late charge,‡) early in October, and but a few days previous to the meeting of the Synod. It was proposed to come prepared to camp on the ground, and to remain several days. The ostensible design of the meeting was "to celebrate the *Feast of Love*, and to unite in prayer to God for the outpouring of his Spirit." The place was

* This familiarity with Scottish authorities at this early period, shows decisively the reverence cherished by the clergy of Kentucky towards the Mother Church ; and how little they would have countenanced the preposterous amalgamation of "*Congregational-Presbyterians*," pretended, by some partisans in the late New School controversy, to be the distinctive characteristics of American Presbyterianism.

† McNemar, p. 79.

‡ Mr. Marshall resigned Bethel and Blue Spring Churches as a pastoral charge, November 10, 1802, though he appears to have continued to supply them in 1803. Min. West Lex. Phy., i. 87, 101.

selected as central to the States of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee; and great expectations were indulged of the triumphant results. Although the concourse was not so great as was expected, it was sufficiently formidable to justify the apprehensions of the friends of Orthodoxy, and stimulate them to alertness.*

The little pamphlet of a dozen pages which contained this invitation, communicated another interesting piece of intelligence. This was nothing less than the voluntary dissolution of the amphibious body, known under the style and title of the Springfield Presbytery, after a brief existence of nine months. Although by this event, which occurred at Cane Ridge on the 28th of June, 1804, an important barrier to intercourse with the Synod was removed, no good result followed.

The document was oddly enough entitled, "*The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery.*" It was drawn up with due punctilio in the form of a will, with preamble and items, and signed and sealed by the members as witnesses. This sorry attempt at wit, upon a very serious subject, informed the world, that the Presbytery, although, through a gracious Providence, being in more than ordinary bodily health, growing in strength and size daily, and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; yet, knowing that it is appointed to all delegated bodies once to die, and considering that the life of every such body is very uncertain, did make and ordain this their last will and testament. In this document they abjured their late and every similar organization; renounced the title of Reverend, written calls, and salaries by subscription; affirmed the inherent independence and plenary power of each particular congregation to do all ecclesiastical acts, whether of discipline, licensure, or ordination; and acknowledged no other Confession of Faith or Directory than the Bible. It was signed by Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, B. W. Stone, John Thompson, and David Purviance, "Witnesses."

To the "Will" was appended "*The Witnesses' Address;*" in which they, with more sobriety, stated the reasons of the step they had taken, promised to give the public shortly their views on Church Government, and concluded with the invitation to

* Bishop's Rice, p. 131.

Bethel already alluded to. Their reasons appear briefly to have been these ; that they found it difficult to repress a latent feeling of "*party*," that they excited the jealousy of other denominations ; and that, as their investigations into the subject of Ecclesiastical Polity had at last conducted them to the conclusion that all such confederacies as Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, were unscriptural, consistency required them to disband before they published their sentiments to the world.* They, however, gave fair warning that they had no idea of stripping themselves of the clerical character, but that they would aid the brethren with their counsel when required, assist in ordaining elders and pastors, and continue in the exercise of those functions which belonged to them as ministers of the Gospel.†

Filled with the pleasing dream of an approaching universal kingdom, which was to embrace the whole earth, they proposed to establish a grand communion, which should agree to unite upon the simplest fundamental principles, according to a plan drawn up by Rice Haggard, such as, worshipping one God, acknowledging Jesus Christ as the Saviour, taking the Bible for the sole confession of faith, and organizing on the New Testament model. To this union of all disciples of Christ, they gave the name of "THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH," and would recognize no sectarian appellation. Their views were communicated to the world in the promised "*Observations on Church Government*," and "*An Address to the different religious societies, on the sacred import of the Christian name*."‡

They had not as yet reached the point of intolerance which was afterwards incorporated in their system, the denial of infant baptism, and of any mode of baptism but immersion. Mr. Stone, indeed, had been troubled for several years on the former point ; and in January 19th, 1799, had addressed a confidential letter to his friend Marshall, suggesting difficulties, and requesting their solution, to which he received a long and elaborate reply.§ Mr.

* Last Will and Testament, pp. 7, 8.

† Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

‡ McNemar only considers it as a setting up again of the fallen Dragon. "Having shook off their former reins of government, and having attained but little mortification of that pride, natural to man ; and being carried along in a high gale of the Spirit, they began to form great imaginations of a universal kingdom, in which they would fill the first rank." p. 88.

§ Marshall MSS. No. 1, 2.

Stone's mind, however, was not relieved, and soon after the schism he avowed his predilections, and administered baptism only to adults, and by immersion. It was agreed in one of their conferences, that every one should act, in regard to this subject, according to his individual convictions; and it appears that Mr. Stone, although he refused to baptize Mr. Marshall's child himself, was yet in the habit of announcing to his people that on such a day they could have their children baptized by such of the preachers as had no scruples about the practice.*

The Presbytery of Springfield, even from the first, when the five schismatics withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky, professed to have no design of setting up a separate church, or distinct sect, but only represented their association as a temporary asylum.† So far from claiming ecclesiastical authority, they modestly confessed that they were as far from the true foundation as others, and that they felt the need of more light and further search into the Scriptures.

They had not, indeed, advanced so far as to dispense with all relics of order, and accordingly we find them, in March, 1804, examining Malcolm Worley, an elder in the Turtle Creek Church, in Ohio, Mr. McNemar's charge, and furnishing him with a written license to preach.‡

The Presbytery were not the sole judges of Mr. Worley's qualifications; the church of which he was a member conceived themselves likewise called, after the manner of the Independents, to examine him as to his theological views, and having declared themselves satisfied, encouraged him to exercise his gifts in exhorting as Providence might direct. The same course was pursued in regard to others, and the number of approved exhorters increased.§

Mr. Worley's sentiments remind one of the speculations of the Gnostics. He maintained that man, since the Fall, possessed both a divine and a diabolical nature, the first corresponding to *the seed of the woman*, the latter to *the seed of the serpent*. That Christ, to redeem mankind, assumed this double nature, and his whole life was a conflict between these antagonistical principles.

* Marshall MSS. No. 8. Stone to Marshall.

† Apology, p. 20. McNemar, p. 42.

‡ McNemar, p. 34. Bishop's Rice, p. 136.

§ McNemar, p. 57.

That the diabolical nature (which was that which tempted him to ambition and presumption, in casting himself down from the pinnacle of the temple) was finally defeated on the cross, whence the Second Man arose victorious, having effectually bruised the serpent's head. And, lastly, that the thousand years during which, according to Scripture, this wicked or diabolical nature was to be bound, *i. e.*, suffered to exist, had now expired, and the Spirit of God was poured out upon the people, first to reveal, and finally to consume it.*

Such were the wild notions which this deluded man was let loose to propagate among the community. While a number of prominent New Lights acceded to these views, there were others who hesitated, objecting that they led to Universalism, and, by removing the motives of hope and fear, encouraged vice; although there were not wanting others who charitably ascribed them to a disordered brain. But as all professed to be learners, and to exercise independent rights in investigating scriptural mysteries, a decision of the subject was deferred for the present, and the harmony of the party remained uninterrupted.†

Such was the posture of affairs when the Synod assembled for their annual fall meeting, in October, 1804, at Danville.

The difficulties with the Cumberland Presbytery, and with Mr. Craighead, engaged their attention; but that we may not interrupt the thread of the narrative, the consideration of these subjects shall be reserved for succeeding chapters.

The Rev. Dr. James Hall,‡ the Rev. Thomas Marquis, and the Rev. Nash Le Grand, appeared before Synod as a Committee sent by the General Assembly with a view to heal the recent disorders. They proceeded to unfold a plan whereby the object of their mission might be accomplished, in which the Synod concurred. Messrs. Marshall, Dunlavy, Stone and Thompson, being present, also gave their concurrence. Mr. McNemar was not present. Synod then spent some time in prayer for the blessing of Heaven on the measure proposed, their devotions being led by Messrs. Marquis and Marshall; after which they

* McNemar, pp. 51-53.

† Ibid. pp. 53, 55.

‡ Dr. Hall was from North Carolina. He was appointed by the General Assembly to a mission in the bounds of the Presbytery of Washington; but having declined it, the Synod prayed the Assembly to appoint Mr. Rice in his place. Min. of Syn. i. 61.

appointed Messrs. Rice, Findley, Blythe, Maj. John Campbell, and Mr. James Allen, a Committee of Conference to act with the Assembly's Committee. The joint committee had an interview with the dissenting brethren, in which, however, they could arrive at no satisfactory conclusion, the one party insisting on obedience to the Discipline of the Church, the other pertinaciously repudiating the Confession of Faith as a standard of doctrine and discipline.*

All attempts at conciliation proving abortive, Messrs. Rice, Marquis, Le Grand, Blythe, and Maj. John Campbell, were appointed a Committee to draft an Address to the Churches in regard to the unhappy schism. The Address was read and approved; and seven hundred and fifty copies ordered to be printed, circulated, and read in the churches. Certain ministers were designated, whose duty it should be to read the Address in the late charges of the seceding brethren. All which was done accordingly.† Appended to the "Serious Address" were the Report of the Committee of Conference, An Extract from the Assembly's Narrative on the State of Religion, A Letter from the Assembly to Mr. Rice—which will be referred to hereafter—and a Pastoral Letter from the Assembly. In this letter the Venerable Assembly alluded to the unhappy schism, and urged to forbearance and conciliation; they deplored the late extravagances and bodily contortions; and strongly bore their testimony against pretended impulses and revelations from Heaven. "When men presume," said the Assembly, "that the Holy Spirit, contrary to the established order of Providence, interferes, by particular impulse, to direct them in all the common affairs of life; when they deem themselves to be impelled by him to particular acts, or particular religious exercises, contrary to the established order of the Gospel, and the obvious duties of the moment; when, finally, they pretend to miraculous powers, or prophetic influences, and the foretelling of future events; all these are evidences of a wild, enthusiastic spirit, and tend, eventually, to destroy the authority of the Word of God, as the sole rule of faith and practice."‡

* Min. of Syn. i. 45-49. Report of the Comm. appended to the "Serious Address," pp. 10-14.

† Min. of Syn. pp. 57, 65, 74

‡ Assembly's Digest, p. 151.

During the years 1805 and 1806, Messrs. Campbell and Stuart were directed by the General Assembly to travel over Northern Kentucky, and Messrs. Stuart and Rice over Southern Kentucky, with a view to regulate disorders, compose the distracted churches, and gather again together the scattered flock.

The campaign of 1805 opened with spirit on both sides. The defection of the Rev. Matthew Houston, pastor of Silver Creek and Paint Lick congregations, (originally the charge of the lamented Cary Allen,) was calculated to discourage the Orthodox, and inspire the New Lights with fresh vigor. On the 10th of April, Mr. Houston forwarded to the Presbytery of Transylvania, then in session, a letter, informing them that he had relinquished the faith of the Church and declined the authority of her judicatories. Hereupon the Presbytery, on mature deliberation, resolved, as they had sufficient evidence in his letter of his declinature and schism, and as our discipline does not contemplate clothing a man with ministerial authority in order to propagate his private and schismatic views, that he be suspended from all the functions of the ministry until he should return to order, satisfy the Church of his reformation, and submit to its rules and authority. Messrs. Campbell and Findley, who were appointed to read this sentence in the congregations of Silver Creek and Paint Lick, were also charged with the duty of conversing with Mr. Houston, and, if possible, reclaiming him from his errors. The duty was fulfilled, but with no beneficial result; and Mr. Houston persisting in his course, he was finally deposed on the 2d of October following.*

MATTHEW HOUSTON graduated at Liberty Hall about the close of the last century. He was not a man of talents, nor a close reasoner. He seldom meddled with doctrinal points, but indulged in a style of inflammatory declamation. He was a fleshy man, of plethoric habit, florid complexion, reddish hair, and sanguine temperament. His disposition was jovial to a fault. He was utterly destitute of solemnity, always joking and keeping everybody round him in a roar, and was never known to be serious except when praying or preaching. He was a very Boanerges, having a strong clear voice that could be heard at a camp-meeting to the distance of a mile. He was animated in

* Min. of Trans. Pby. vol. iii. pp. 107, 109, 114.

his action, and labored in preaching till the perspiration oozed through his coat. Being naturally enthusiastic, and of very ardent feelings, he produced great emotion in an audience, although, as he himself was sensible, it was but evanescent.

He took a prominent part in the Great Revival, and was credulous enough to believe it all genuine. The Exercises abounded in his neighborhood, and received his encouragement. The Barking Exercise commenced under his auspices, and when his protégés disturbed the decorum of public worship with their ululatory performances, and drew down the merited rebuke of the orthodox clergy, he was highly indignant, and denounced the interference as interposing hindrances to the progress of the work of God.

Mr. Stone's Letters on the Atonement decided him openly to join the New Lights, but the joy his accession gave them was soon damped by his quitting their fellowship for the Shakers, who made their first appearance in his neighborhood in the spring of 1805, and unfortunately he had influence enough to take many of his people along with him. He entered into all the fooleries of the Shakers, and, pretending to take literally the injunction "*to become as little children*," he would ride about on a hobby-horse, and perform other childish tricks. It began, moreover, to be whispered that he did not imitate with equal scrupulousness the *innocence* of infancy, and suspicions were afloat unfavorable to his moral purity, but this may have been a groundless calumny. He was promoted by the Shakers to the station of an elder, and occasionally went about preaching. After some time he removed to the Shaker village in Ohio, where he still resides.*

Two champions now stepped into the arena, and attracted all eyes by a vigorous war of pamphlets. Early in the Spring of 1805, Mr. Stone's "*Letters on the Atonement*" made their appearance, in 36 pages. Dr. John P. Campbell promptly took the field, and published "*Strictures*" on the Letters, in 79 pages. To these Mr. Stone in September put forth a "*Reply*," in 67 pages; and in the following year Dr. Campbell rejoined in a pamphlet entitled "*Vindex, or the Doctrines of the Strictures Vindicated*," in 154 pages.†

* For the materials of this biography, the writer is indebted to Mr. Stuart, Dr. Wilson, and the widow of Mr. Lyle.

† It will interest the lover of antiquarian morceaux, and may not be deemed beneath the notice of an ecclesiastical historian, to observe, that the typography

The styles of the combatants were as opposite as their sentiments. Mr. Stone wrote in a simple, unambitious style, totally innocent of rhetorical embellishments, and plain occasionally to slovenliness. It was suited to the minds he sought to reach—the shrewd, though uneducated, mass of the people. He wrote as if he meant to be understood, and cared for nothing beyond this. The novelty and boldness of his attacks on the Confession attracted their admiration; the startling and plausible fallacies which he advanced with an air of specious candor, stimulated their curiosity; the sneers in which he indulged against systematic and antiquated dogmas, harmonized with their natural love of independence; and the very coarseness of his language conciliated their good will, and made them unsuspecting of danger from so frank and unpretending a source.

The style of Dr. Campbell, on the contrary, was studied, elegant, and ornate. His argument was close and cogent, and his rhetoric was as elaborate as his logic. His sentences moved on with stately dignity, and the classical taste could not but be captivated with his well-balanced periods. The peroration of his *Strictures* was particularly fine as a splendid piece of declamation. But these qualities, which in the judgment of critics would be worthy of all praise, tended perhaps to diminish the effect of his pages, and to excite the prejudices of the jealous multitude. His error was that ascribed to the British troops at North Point—of not shooting low enough. His elegant sentences flew over the heads of the people, and failed to make the desired impression upon that very class of the community who most needed it. In his next production he seemed to have become aware of the necessity of adopting a less ambitious style, and sacrificing the graces to strength; he fairly descended into the ring, and met his antagonist more on his own level, not, however, without manifest repugnance and violence to his own feelings. There was less rhetoric and more logic. It was a triumphant vindication of his own positions, and a withering exposure of his opponent's crude opinions, conceited dog-

of these pamphlets does not indicate a very high state of the art at that period. The paper is very coarse and dingy. Mr. Stone's pamphlets were issued from the press of Joseph Charles; Dr. Campbell's from that of Daniel Bradford; both in Lexington.

matism, uncharitable insinuations, disingenuous artifices, distorted quotations, shallow learning, bad grammar, and slovenly style.

In the course of the controversy, Mr. Stone's heretical views were distinctly brought out; what he himself withheld, or cunningly concealed under vague or ambiguous language, being dragged to the light by his sagacious adversary. When all disguises were stripped off, he stood forth evidently convicted of occupying Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian ground.

He denied a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, as unscriptural and unintelligible.* He denied the equality of Christ with the Father, except in name and office.† On these points he was very reserved and obscure, all he allowed himself to say being comprised in two short paragraphs.

He ridiculed the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, in regard to the Federal Covenant with Adam;‡ the Wrath of God, whom he represented as eternal and unchangeable Love, not needing to be reconciled to sinners but requiring them to be reconciled to him;§ the Suretyship and Imputed Righteousness of Christ;|| and his paying the Penalty of the Law.¶ Christ was a Surety, not of men, but of the Covenant, as confirming and attesting the truth of God's promises.**

The Atonement was not Expiatory. It meant agreement or reconciliation, as was apparent from its etymology. God and the sinner were "*at twos*," i. e. mutually opposed; Christ came to "*at-one*" them, i. e. to "*make them one*." This *At-one-ment* is effected when men become holy, and so conformed to the nature of God.†† Atonement, reconciliation, propitiation, redemption, ransom, purging, cleansing, regeneration, salvation, all mean the same thing; i. e. bringing God and sinners together.‡‡

Faith and repentance are in the power of the creature, and of themselves secure pardon and acceptance.§§ Faith is a mere act of the intellect assenting to evidence, and is independent of the will.|||| The Jewish sacrifices were not typical of the sa-

* Letters on Atonement, p. 18.

† Reply to the Strictures, p. 20.

‡ Lett. p. 4.

§ Lett. pp. 5, 21.

|| Lett. p. 7.

¶ Lett. p. 15.

** Lett. p. 7.

†† Lett. p. 20.

‡‡ Lett. pp. 21, 25.

§§ Lett. p. 20. Reply, p. 6.

|||| Reply, p. 60.

crifice of Christ; and the efficacy of both consisted solely in producing proper feelings on the part of the worshipper.* Justification is the result of personal obedience, or of union by faith to Christ, and a consequent participation of his nature which is righteousness. "They are justified, *made* just or righteous, and *declared* so; because they are so indeed."†

Dr. Campbell's exposure made a deep impression upon the public mind, as Mr. Stone himself seems to have admitted,‡ and the occasional compliments paid to his superior learning and talents evince the uneasiness of his adversary. But there was one passage which was regarded as peculiarly startling and offensive. In speaking of the price of redemption, Mr. Stone had employed the following language:

"It may now be asked if Christ, or God in Christ, redeems from the devil and sin, and if he gave his blood as the ransom or price, who got the price? The apostle to the Hebrews, ii. 14, answers: 'Forasmuch as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil.' Here we see that the devil had the power of death, and he got the price, which was the death of Christ."§

"What!" cried Dr. Campbell, warmly expressing his horror at these "dreadful words,"—"What! was the blood, the 'precious blood' of Christ given to a foul, abominable fiend? Was God so deeply indebted to the Prince of hell that the richest blood in the universe must flow out in payment? Was the Supreme Being so weak, so devoid of resource, so thwarted and baffled in his measures, as to be obliged to compound with a poor, damned rebel, who is *reserved in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day*, and pay him such a price for the ransom of sinners? Was the Almighty Father so merciless, so lost to tenderness, as to deliver up his own, *his only Son*, to glut the malice of a blood-thirsty demon? Was the innocent Lamb of God made a victim, and immolated upon the altar of hell to

* Lett. p. 31.

† Lett. p. 15.

‡ Mr. Stone, alluding to the strictures of Dr. C., says: "By your public harangues, and writings on this subject, the preachers and people appear to have caught the same wildness of imagination." Reply, p. 55.

§ Letters, p. 24.

appease the wrath of the devil? O sacred God! how low is thy power reduced, how is thy character stigmatized, how is thy glory tarnished by such a doctrine! What a *libel* on TRUTH and the CROSS! Its worst enemies could wish no more to render it contemptible. No feature of infamy could be imposed upon Christianity that would make it more disgusting, more shocking, more repulsive, than the hideous one we now contemplate.”*

“Let not the world, however, think Mr. S. an original in this idea—Mr. Morgan had published it before him to expose Christianity. ‘If the deliverance of mankind from the power and dominion of Satan had been by a proper purchase or price of redemption paid for them, it seems most reasonable, that the price of redemption should be paid to the conqueror, who had them in possession, whose prisoners they were, and who thereupon pleaded a right to them by conquest, i. e. the DEVIL.’”†

So deeply was the moral sense of the community shocked by Mr. Stone’s language, and so glaring was its coincidence with that of the Deist above cited, that he felt compelled in his Reply to deny unequivocally, that he had ever heard of that author before. He appeared to be ashamed of the expression he had used, and consented to retract it, and to “eat the dreadful words,” professing that he would never contend for an expression, if he might retain the idea.‡

As the spring had opened with a bud of ill omen, in the defection to Shakerism of the first convert made by his Letters on the Atonement, the fall amply redeemed the promise of the spring. Mr. Stone was deeply mortified at finding himself deserted by two of his colleagues, McNemar and Dunlavy, who, as he bitterly said, made shipwreck of faith, and turned aside to an old woman’s fables, broached in New England twenty-five years before.§

It appears that on the intelligence of the strange doings in the Kentucky Revival, a deputation of three Shakers, no doubt considering it a promising soil, started on a visit of exploration from the settlement at New Lebanon, in the State of New York.

* Strictures, p. 68.

† Strictures, p. 69.

‡ Reply, pp. 55, 56. McNemar alludes to it also, p. 103.

§ Reply, Postscript, p. 67.

They arrived at Paint Lick early in March, and made a successful commencement with Mr. Houston, whose illumination was so rapid that in a month he was ready to renounce his connection with the Presbytery.* In April they visited Cane Ridge, and were courteously, and even warmly, entertained by Mr. Stone, who sent a letter "*By friend Bates*" to Mr. McNemar.† Coming to Ohio, they visited Turtle Creek, near Lebanon, and introduced themselves to Malcolm Worley, and through him to Mr. McNemar, and were permitted, without any impediment, to address the congregation on the following day, which was the Sabbath.‡ The door being thus widely thrown open, it is not wonderful that Worley, who had been one of the wildest of the New Lights, and was like tinder ready for the spark, became their first proselyte; and by the 23d of May, they numbered thirty or forty converts, among whom were the prominent leaders in the Revival, with McNemar himself at their head.§ In June they came to Eagle Creek, and made a few converts there; and in July succeeded in winning over Dunlavy, with twenty or thirty families under his influence.|| In August, through the efforts of Matthew Houston, Samuel, Henry, and John Bonta, Elisha Thomas, and others, they obtained a foothold in the middle region of Kentucky; and a number of families embraced their views, and formed a Community near Harrodsburg, in Mercer county.¶ Another Shaker village was soon found necessary in the Green river country, which was joined by Mr. Rankin, and to which we shall allude again when we speak of the Cumberland Presbyterian schism.

It is not to be supposed that the New Lights, now styling themselves "*Christians*," could view these movements without

* McNemar, p. 74.

† McNemar, p. 79. "Dost thou not remember," writes Dunlavy in a letter to Stone, "telling me, on that same day, that thou wast never so completely swallowed up with any man as with Issachar Bates, while he opened the testimony? And that thou hadst never heard anything with which thou wast so well pleased, or which so perfectly filled thy soul, as the testimony of the Shakers, until they came on marriage? that that was the first thing on which thou didst think them lame? But thou didst not object to that first, but to the doctrine of the resurrection? I say, dost thou not remember these things? Concealment before the world may stand awhile; but concealment before God will not avail." Dunlavy's Manifesto, p. 470.

‡ McNemar, p. 75.

§ McNemar, pp. 80, 84.

|| McNemar, p. 85.

¶ McNemar, p. 85.

alarm. Mr. Stone and Mr. Thomson, particularly, denounced the Shaker emissaries on all occasions, in letters, by the press, and at the camp-meetings, as false prophets, liars, and wolves in sheep's clothing, snuffing the prey from afar, and come to rend and devour.* At a general meeting at Concord in August, six of the leaders, Thomson, Marshall, Stone, Purviance, Stockwell and Brannon, spoke freely against them in their addresses; while a solemn Council was held, which enjoined total silence upon Youngs, McNemar, Dunlavy, and Worley, who were present, and burning to exercise their gifts; thus, as Youngs very pointedly remarked, "abusing their own light."†

Although divided and weakened by these inroads, and compelled to direct much of their strength to mere self-preservation, the New-Lights rallied, and made a successful stand.‡ Under the wide wing of Latitudinarianism, they doubtless collected and retained many who were more or less orthodox. Of this number were Messrs. Marshall and Thomson. With Mr. Stone's heresies we have no reason to believe they ever fully sympathized. They were probably led away by an anti-sectarian spirit, and an irrepressible zeal for extensive usefulness, and it may be also, they were unconsciously swayed by other motives not quite so pure. That Mr. Marshall never denied the Divinity of Christ, though he sympathized with Dr. Watts' sentiments on the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, the testimony of his family is positive, nor is there any evidence to the contrary. A note-book of his, containing memoranda from 1804 to 1811, exhibits a synopsis of arguments, apparently intended as the heads of a sermon, in favor of the Divinity of Christ. Mr. Thomson was perhaps not so sound, if we may draw the inference from some vague hints of McNemar, from his dancing at the sacrament of 1804,§ and from the fact that in the recent schism of 1838, he sided with the New School party.||

* McNemar, pp. 90, 101. Stone's Reply, P. S., p. 67, Stone's Letter in 1806.

† McNemar, pp. 92, 93.

‡ Stone to Marshall, Marshall MSS. No. 8.

§ McNemar, p. 90.

|| In 1845, the Old School Presbytery of Crawfordsville (Indiana) made an overture of re-union to the New School Presbytery of the same name, (being encouraged to do so by some friendly hints on the part of some individual members of the latter.) The action of his Presbytery was anticipated by a bitter and pettish review from the pen of Mr. Thomson, in which he took occasion to de-

The scheme of comprehensive union, however plausible in theory, was not found to work well in practice, and the body became more and more disorganized. There was a universal want of order and agreement, and every one did as was right in his own eyes.* Even Mr. Stone admitted the prevailing evils. A letter to Mr. Marshall contained the following confession: "I see the Christian Churches wrong in many things—they are not careful to support preachers—they encourage too many trifling preachers—are led away too much by noise, &c."†

At length Messrs. Marshall and Thomson found their situation so uneasy, that they resolved on attempting to extricate themselves. As soon as Mr. Stone discovered this disposition, he addressed Mr. Marshall a very wily letter, in which he appealed to him, by every motive that he supposed would carry weight with it, not to desert him. He offered, if he were himself in the way, to retire, and give up the whole ground to them, and let them proceed as they might judge best, averring that he had no desire to build up a party, but only to preach the Gospel.‡ After much correspondence, extending through several months, these two brethren decided to apply to the Synod for re-admission, and if denied; to attempt to form a new and orderly organization.§ A pamphlet was issued in their joint names, containing a

nounce the acts of the Old School Assembly as "in the highest degree unconstitutional, revolutionary, oppressive, and atrocious;" and insisted that his party could not pass over to the other "without loss of honor and compromise of principle." See Reply of the Committee of Crawfordsville Presby. Presb. Her., July 31st, 1845.

* Thomson to Marshall, Marshall MSS. No. 6.

† Stone to Marshall, Marshall MSS. No. 8.

‡ Marshall MSS. No. 8.

§ Thomson to Marshall, Marshall MSS. No. 6, 7. Dr. Campbell to Dr. Alexander, Prot. and Her. vol. x. No. 37. From this letter it appears that Dr. C. was not unaware of the difficulties attending a restoration, and was anxious to have the opinions of Eastern divines on the subject. He says: "1. Shall we require deep remorse and extreme humiliation? 2. Or shall we receive them, as men who ourselves are weak, fallible and prone to err, without breaking the bruised reed or pressing penitence too far? 3. Must they be ordained again? or 4. will it be necessary only to receive them in order to the resuscitation of their first ordination? 5. Will it be necessary to rebaptize those they have baptized, to re-ordain those they have ordained, &c. 6. Or will our recognition of their original ordination or repentance give legality and character to their baptisms, ordinations and the like?—My own opinion is contained in the 2, 4, and 6 queries, but I wish you to take the opinion of our brethren in your quarter, and send it with your own on these questions, as I mean to negotiate with these people as early as possible, respecting a return to our Church. Marshall and Thomson are really valuable men, and would be important to us. Should they

candid confession, and an unequivocal retraction of their errors. This they did in preference to slipping back noiselessly into the Church; because, as they had committed a public wrong, they deemed it their duty to make as public an atonement.* Mr. Rice was not perfectly satisfied of the soundness of all their positions, and while he hailed their return, he took the liberty of frankly communicating his disapprobation in a letter.†

The preliminary negotiations, which Dr. Campbell was a main agent in conducting,‡ having terminated auspiciously, on the 12th of October, 1811, just eight years after their declining the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky, Messrs. Marshall and Thomson applied to the same body, by letter, for re-admission. They submitted to an examination concerning the doctrines of the Trinity, Decrees, Agency of the Spirit in Regeneration, Freedom of the Will, Faith in Jesus Christ, Atonement, and Baptism, on all which points they gave orthodox and satisfactory answers, unhesitatingly assenting to the Confession and Discipline. They explained their conduct in continuing to preach after suspension, by a sincere desire to benefit the people who had seceded; and declared their hearty sorrow for it, and their full conviction of its evil consequences. The Synod removed the sentence of suspension, the Rev. Matthew G. Wallace only entering his dissent, and directed the Presbyteries of West Lexington and Miami to meet in the following month, the first to re-admit and restore Mr. Marshall, and the latter to re-admit and restore Mr. Thomson;§ which was accordingly done, and these brethren orderly restored to the exercise of the functions of the Gospel Ministry in the Presbyterian Church.|| Their return was welcomed with

organize and separate from their quondam brethren, the New Lights, they will do us more harm than before. Their warnith united with sound principles and good order, will make them formidable to us at a time when we have a great lack of preachers.”

* Thomson to Marshall, Marshall MSS., No. 6.

† Marshall MSS., No. 9.

‡ Campbell's Letter to Marshall, dated April 13, 1811, Marshall MSS. No. 4. This letter breathes a delightfully pious spirit, and assures him there will be no difficulty, and that there prevails no other than a cordial and friendly feeling.

§ Minutes Syn. Ky., vol. ii. p. 11, 12, 19.

|| Min. Syn. vol. ii. p. 33. Mr. Marshall was restored, November 13, 1811, at a meeting of West Lexington Presbytery called for the purpose, after making satisfactory declarations of his views and feelings; and was immediately appointed to supply several vacancies, and in August of the following year, was appointed a missionary in their bounds for three months. Min. W. Lex. Pby., vol. ii. pp. 30, 40.

the most cordial and friendly feelings by the whole Presbyterian body.*

Mr. Stone was thus doomed to the bitter mortification of seeing the last of his coadjutors desert him, leaving his party crippled and dispirited. Two of the original five who withdrew from the Synod, had joined the Shakers, together with the first proselyte of his Letters; and now the two remaining, the most respectable and influential, left him, to throw themselves again, penitently, into the bosom of the Church they had forsaken.

While the Stoneites (so called from their sole remaining leader, as before they had been occasionally called Marshallites) were thus torn and distracted, the cause of Orthodoxy was reviving. The Synodical Narrative of the State of Religion spoke encouragingly. It reported the return of some to the bosom of the Church; increased attention to the means of grace; the marked benefits of catechetical instruction; and the success of missionary efforts conducted by certain members of the Synod. The missionary collections amounted to the sum of \$283.53.†

Mr. Stone, at the close of his "Reply" to Dr. Campbell's Strictures, had declared his intention never again to enter on the field of authorship;‡ but about nine years after in 1814, (the same year in which his great antagonist died,) forgetful of his pledge, he published a bulky "*Address to the Christian Churches in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.*" This was, indeed, highly proper in a man who was looked up to as the sole acknowledged leader of the sect, and who stood to them in the relation of a sort of Universal Bishop; but it drew forth an able review from the pen of (Dr.) Thomas Cleland, marked by great acuteness, industry, and research. This pamphlet comprised 101 pages, and was entitled "*The Socini-Arian Detected,*" in a series of six letters to Mr. Stone.

As Mr. Stone had formerly been very reserved on the subject

* Marshall MSS. No. 4. Bishop's Rice, p. 140.

† Min. Syn. vol. ii. pp. 13, 18. At this meeting the case of Dr. Fishback, a disciple of Craighead, was acted on, of which more will be said hereafter. It is worthy of note that at so early a period, (1811,) the Synod sent a petition to Congress against carrying the mails on Sabbath days. Dr. Blythe was placed at the head of the committee to draft it. p. 14.

‡ Reply, p. 66.

of Christ's equality with the Father, Dr. Campbell had paid more attention to his Pelagian views; but Mr. Stone having now thrown off the mask and argued the question at some length, Mr. Cleland properly expended most of his strength upon the former topic to which the first three letters related, while the last three treated of the Atonement, the Propitiatory Sacrifice of Christ, Human Depravity, Regeneration, and Faith.

In this Essay a statement of Mr. Stone was commented upon with some pungency. He had declared that his views on the subject of the Divinity of Christ had not wavered for twenty years. Yet, only sixteen years before, at his ordination by the Presbytery of Transylvania, Oct. 4th, 1798, (to say nothing of his previous examinations for licensure,) he had expressed his sincere approbation of the Confession of Faith, the doctrines of which book, on the consubstantiality and equality of Christ with the Father, are unequivocal. Thus, on three several occasions, his licensure by Orange Presbytery, his reception by Transylvania, and his ordination as pastor of Cane Ridge and Concord Churches, Mr. Stone laid himself open to a serious charge of dishonesty.*

Stung by this attack, Mr. Stone applied to Mr. Marshall for a certificate, stating that he had professed at the time to receive the Confession only as far as he saw it was agreeable to the word of God, and so could not have deceived the Presbytery.† Mr. Marshall's reply was very unsatisfactory. He said that his recollection of the circumstances was imperfect, but reminded Mr. Stone that he must be aware if the Presbytery had suspected his entertaining those erroneous opinions, they never would have ordained him. They had both held Dr. Watts' views on the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, but had never been charged on that account with making him a creature only. With a charitable desire to save Mr. Stone's honesty, he seemed willing to believe that his views had changed, and that his vague and confused method had led the reviewer innocently to connect what should have been separated. He closed with expressing his belief that Mr. Stone was in error of the most dangerous kind, from which he prayed God to deliver him.‡

* Socini-Arian Detected, p. 36.

† Marshall MSS. No. 10.

‡ Marshall MSS. No. 11.

Although Mr. Stone, in his letter, disavowed all intention of noticing Dr. Cleland, he again broke his resolution, and published a justification; which provoked another pamphlet in turn from the reviewer. Dr. Cleland's writings had an extensive circulation, and were considered very able and useful.*

In a second edition of his "Address," in 1821,† Mr. Stone referred to the charge of dishonesty; and, to exculpate himself, published two certificates, one signed by eight persons and dated 1818, the other signed by five persons and dated 1821, testifying that they had heard Mr. Stone teach the pre-existence of the human soul of Jesus Christ, at least twenty years prior to date; and three certificates, signed by six individuals, bearing the above dates, testifying that they had been present at Mr. Stone's ordination, and had heard him, when asked, "do you receive and adopt the Confession?" except in the following or like words, "I do, as far as I see it consistent with the word of God." He represented himself as greatly aggrieved by the Presbytery's having omitted to make any record of the exception.‡

After a time rose another Heresiarch, before whose more brilliant star the influence of Mr. Stone's began to wane. This was ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, a native of Scotland, and now a resident in Bethany, Virginia. He was at one time a Presbyterian minister, connected with the Presbytery of Redstone, in Western Pennsylvania. His motives for entering the ministry, were, according to his own subsequent acknowledgment, selfish and ambitious; but in his subsequent career he professed to be governed by purer aims, and to be captivated by the liberal and anti-sectarian views so popular at the beginning of the present century.§ His enemies, indeed, computing the lucrative results of his vast editions of his own version of the New Testament, of his hymn-books, of his Christian System, and of his monthly Mil-

* Bishop's Rice, p. 139.

† Pp. 102, 12mo. J. T. Cavins & Co., Lexington.

‡ Address, pp. 32, 33, 34. Dr. B. F. Hall, editor of a Campbellite periodical in Louisville, has recently endeavored to vindicate the orthodoxy of Mr. Stone; which Dr. Cleland has ably refuted in the Presbyterian Herald, Aug. 13th, 1846. Dr. Campbell was also charged with having suggested to Mr. Stone the guarded answer at his ordination. From an inspection of the minutes, he appears to have been absent on that occasion.

§ See his own account of his religious experience, Prot. and Her. vol. xiii. No. 40.

lennial Harbinger ; to say nothing of his power and fame as the founder of a numerous sect, and president of a thriving college, (the pet project of his latter years ;) have not hesitated to question the purity of his motives.

He and his father, with their congregations, renounced the Presbyterian communion in 1812, and joined the Redstone Baptist Association. Being a man of great natural gifts ; a cool, clear head ; a smooth, oily eloquence ; a respectable share of learning ; considerable knowledge of human nature ; and a keen polemical turn ;* he gradually made a number of converts to his no-creed views, in the face of strong opposition. In 1823, he openly raised his banner, by the publication of a periodical entitled "*The Christian Baptist*." The Ancient Gospel and Order were now zealously proclaimed, till the Orthodox Baptist Churches, roused to a sense of their danger, began, after the year 1827, to disown all fellowship with them. The party were thus driven to form themselves into separate Societies. Great agitation ensued, and the Baptist Churches were split and divided in every direction. Such was the zeal of the Proclaimers, that they swept over Virginia, Kentucky, and the western country, like a torrent ; whole churches, both of Baptists and Methodists, occasionally declaring for them ; and their progress has been onward ever since, swelling, in less than twenty years, to the number of 150,000 members, and upwards.† From a pamphlet published by Mr. S. M. Scott, it appears that in the State of Kentucky, during the year 1845, there were 380 churches, 33,830 communicants, 195 preachers, 666 elders, and

* Mr. Campbell's forte is controversy. He has been a man of war from his youth. In 1820, he had an oral debate with the Rev. Mr. Walker, a Seceder ; in 1823, with Rev. William L. McCalla, a Presbyterian, on the mode and subjects of Baptism ; and at another time with the late Dr. Obadiah Jennings, of Nashville. He has debated publicly with Abner Kneeland, on Atheism ; with Robert Owen, of Lanark, on Socialism ; and with Bishop Purcell, on Romanism. His last debate was with the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman, Nov. 15, 1843, on Baptism, Spiritual Influence, and Creeds. This was remarkable for its incidents. Four preachers of note, on each side, were chosen as Associates ; and three distinguished gentlemen as Moderators, of whom the Hon. Henry Clay was President. The debate was held in Lexington, and lasted three weeks. Although Mr. C. at first affected to despise the youth and abilities of his opponent, the general opinion is, that he sustained a signal defeat. The language of his friends was that of apology, not of triumph ; and his manifest loss of temper during the debate was symptomatic of anything but a consciousness of invincibility.

† Encycl. Relig. Kn. art. Disciples. Amer. Almanac, for 1845.

676 deacons. Of the churches, 163 met weekly, 68 semi-monthly, 6 tri-monthly, and 92 monthly.

"The Ancient Gospel and Order" were, indeed, sufficiently simple. "Believe and obey," were its sole terms. "*Believe*," with the eunuch, the scriptural formula, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; "*Obe*y" the scriptural command to be immersed for the remission of sins.* Creeds were discarded as antiquated lumber; the Bible alone was the standard; all terms not found in the Bible, such as the term Trinity, were rejected as scholastic. There was no Regeneration apart from immersion in water. The direct influence of the Holy Ghost upon the heart was ridiculed. Remission was obtained in the act of immersion; and those who refused it, whatever their repentance or faith, were still in their sins.†

The new sect were commonly known as Campbellites, although they themselves affected the title of Reformers, or Reformed Baptists, and spoke of "The Reformation" as if there never had been any Reformation before. After some debate and wavering between the names "Disciples of Christ" and "Christians," they at last settled down upon the latter and acknowledge no other appellation.‡ Each congregation is independent of all others, and no church officer has any authority out of the congregation which elected him. Preachers are not required to profess their belief that they are led by the Holy Ghost to seek the ministry. As written creeds are rejected, the denial of the proper divinity of Christ is no bar to communion. From one-third to one-half the body disbelieve the doctrine.

* Dr. Baird's Religion in America, p. 252. It is not without some misgivings that this judicious and discriminating author classes the Campbellites among the Evangelical sects.

† Mr. Campbell has been for some time considered less heterodox than his followers, and he has certainly expressed great dissatisfaction with the heterogeneous Babel of opinions held and preached among them. "We have had," says he, (Millen. Harbinger, vol. vi. p. 64,) "a very large portion of this unhappy and mischievous influence to contend with. *Every sort of doctrine has been proclaimed by almost all sorts of preachers, under the broad banners and with the supposed sanction of the begun reformation.*" He has also been thought to have become less bigoted in his views of baptism, admitting that it is *possible* for an unimmersed person to be a Christian; and whereas he formerly taught that without immersion one could neither *receive* nor *enjoy* the privileges of a Christian, he has, in later editions of his Christian-System, omitted the word *receive*; apparently conceding that one may *be* a Christian, but be destitute of the *full assurance* of the fact. See Debate with Rice, pp. 550, 562.

‡ Encycl. of Relig. Kn. art. Disciples.

They observe "the breaking of the loaf" every Lord's day, and consider a weekly collection as a binding appointment. The noble and animated hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove!" is never permitted to vibrate on their tongues, because they deny that the Spirit is a personal agent or anything more than a mere influence; and they sing, "*Since* I can read my title clear," instead of "*When* I can read my title clear," because a believer who has been immersed can have no doubt of his title. They sing standing up; and during the exercise are in the habit of shaking hands with all around them, with much apparent warmth and friendliness; thus giving the idea of their greatly enjoying religion, and being a company of very happy Christians. Professing to be liberal, they are a bitter anti-sectarian sect; and while they denounce all others in unmeasured terms, none come in for a fiercer share of their hostility than the Presbyterians.

With so many points of coincidence between the Campbellites and the Stoneites, it is not wonderful that they should in process of time have amalgamated. This union was effected in 1831, in a solemn conference, wherein they discovered, notwithstanding Mr. Stone's Arian views, that they stood on the same foundation, (the New Testament, apart from creeds;) wore the same name; and ought to constitute the same family. Messrs. Smith and Rogers were sent forth to travel among the churches in order to consolidate the union.* Since that time they have formed one body; or rather, the Stoneites have been absorbed in the Campbellites, and, as a body, have become extinct. As their leader has recently deceased, even that feeble bond of union has been dissolved.†

* Stone's Christian Messenger, for Jan., 1832.

† Mr. Campbell boasted, in his debate with Mr. Rice, that he had accomplished what the Presbyterians had failed to achieve—extinction of New Lightism. His aim was "to save some of those speculators," the honest and candid; and "to paralyze and silence" the uncondid. "Whither," he asked, "has fled the New Lightism of former days? How long will its speculations be remembered, that floated on the winds of thirty years? Presbyterians, and all the other parties in the field, could not dispose of it, till the pleaders for the Reformation arose in the length and breadth of the land." Debate, p. 865. Some of those who had formerly been New Lights, were highly displeased with these representations, as doing injustice to Mr. Stone, and wrote Mr. C. a letter, which was published in the Harbinger, affirming that they had come in on terms of perfect equality and union, and that neither considered the other party as holding speculations "of a damning character," or "subversive of Christian faith and

BARTON W. STONE came to Kentucky in 1797, as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Orange, North Carolina. He was ordained in the following year, pastor of Cane Ridge and Concord Churches. He was a man of placid mien, great suavity of manners, very insinuating, plausible, and intriguing; and thence acquired considerable influence. Although his talents were but moderate, and his learning not above mediocrity, he was a popular preacher. His style was not alarming, but persuasive.* His mind appears to have been very unstable in regard to doctrinal points. In 1799, a year after his ordination, we find him troubled with difficulties about Infant Baptism, and seeking a solution confidentially from Mr. Marshall.† He early imbibed Arminian tenets, and had Arian tendencies also, but kept them better concealed from public suspicion.‡ Dr. Campbell was of opinion, from documents in his possession, that it was Mr. Craighead who first seduced him, as well as Houston, into error; that Stone then led astray McNemar; and McNemar, Dunlavy.§

His first mistake was, like other enthusiasts, to make his feelings a criterion of truth. He rejected the sovereignty of God in Election, because it was repugnant to his benevolence.|| He decided against Calvinism, because, on a comparison of the spirit in him with the word of truth, he could not doubt that it was the spirit of truth.¶ In one of his solitary walks, reflecting on the words of Christ to Peter, his soul was filled with an indescribable rapture; he sank into God, and was fully relieved, living for months in a heaven of love, without a doubt, cloud, or fear.** Thus he allowed himself to be deluded by raptures which are known to proceed sometimes from false views of religion, and which, so far from proving the soundness of any given position, may only result from a deceived heart; like those of the Fakirs of India, and the Romish devotee before a crucifix. Scriptural

practice." Prot. and Herald, for Sept. 12, 1844. In a society which indiscriminately admitted Calvinists and Arminians, Arians, Socinians, Universalists, and even Materialists, the above discrepancy is not surprising. Debate, p. 856.

* For the sketch of Mr. Stone, the writer is largely indebted to Mr. Stuart.

† Marshall MSS. No. 1.

‡ Cleland's Socini-Arian Detected, p. 36.

§ Campbell's Letter to Dr. Alexander, Jan. 10, 1811. Prot. and Herald, Aug. 12, 1841.

|| Reply, p. 4.

¶ Reply, p. 6.

** Reply, p. 5.

and proper views of God rather appear to produce effects the contrary of voluptuous ecstasies, as in the cases of Abraham, Jacob, Job, Isaiah, Daniel, and John, who were overwhelmed with a holy dread of the Divine majesty, and fainted away before it. In the state of awful confusion into which Mr. Stone's mind was plunged by his inward conflicts, he paid a visit to the lower part of the State, and witnessed the wonders of the Green river Revival. His passions again misled his judgment; he "knew the voice and felt the power," and returned home fully satisfied of the correctness of his views.*

A pitiable spectacle is here presented, of a man who afterward aspired to head a formidable schism, tossed for a series of years on the fluctuating sea of doubt; at one time satisfied, at another hesitating; now sunk in the blackest gloom, again exulting in ineffable transports; nothing fixed, nothing solid, nothing permanent.

In the Great Revival, Mr. Stone was conspicuous. He embraced an early opportunity to promulgate his peculiar views, which he styled "the true and new Gospel," and was foremost in encouraging the extravagances of the times.† The Falling Exercise seems to have begun in Northern Kentucky, in his congregation at Cane Ridge. In all the affairs connected with the schism, the organization of Springfield Presbytery, and the subsequent formation of societies, known under the various names of New Lights, Christians, Arians, Marshallites, and Stoneites, he was the leading spirit, until they were merged in the all-embracing vortex of Campbellism, in 1831. The desertion of Houston, McNemar, and Dunlavy to the Shakers, and the return of Marshall and Thomson to the Synod, gave his cause a death-blow from which it never recovered. Unable to maintain a flourishing society permanently in any one place, he frequently changed his residence, and the scene of his operations, till at last, shorn of that influence and popularity which had formerly attracted thousands and elated his heart with vanity, he died in Indiana, in 1844, a melancholy beacon to unstable and schismatical spirits.

RICHARD MCNEMAR emigrated to Ohio from Western Pennsylvania, about the year 1801, and was settled over Cabin Creek

* Reply, p. 6.

† Lyle's Diary, pp. 1, 21, 127.

congregation, above Maysville. He was of a sprightly, active, and enthusiastic turn; an agreeable address, a prepossessing appearance, and respectable natural parts, but of weak judgment. He was a portly, fine-looking man, tall and erect, six feet high, and of a stout frame. He was a popular declamatory preacher, warm, animated, lively in desultory exhortation, and apparently sincere. He spoke and sang with all his heart. Ecstatic joy sometimes shone in his whole face. He became a leading man, and a general favorite. There was an affectation of sanctity in his manners which was very captivating with the multitude, who are easily carried away by such appearances. He would take off his shoes on ascending the pulpit or the stand, saying it was holy ground. He encouraged the Jerks, and did all in his power to stimulate the excitement to its height.

He imbibed the sentiments of Marshall and Stone, and preached the New Gospel with zeal. His irregularities having been brought before the Presbytery of Washington, through the agency of John Robb, an orthodox elder of his church, and a complaint signed by eighty individuals, he became one of the five who disowned the jurisdiction of Synod, and constituted the independent Presbytery of Springfield. On its dissolution, Mr. McNemar was active in forming the New Light or Christian connection; till in May, 1805, the Shakers made an easy conquest of him, and thirty or forty of his prominent parishioners. He soon after published his *Account of the Kentucky Revival*, and its attainment of perfection in Shakerism. The closing paragraph of this vivacious history is amusing, (p. 104.) "O my Richard, (adds Barton,) shall I ever rejoice over you as a penitent prodigal?" "Now, (replies Richard,) if ever: I have just returned from feeding the swine, confessed my sins, been completely stripped, and clad with a suit completely new. The door has been opened into my Father's house, and I have entered, to go out no more. Now the family begins to be merry, and the elder son to wonder what it means, willing to get news from the meanest scullion. Don't you hear that it is MUSIC and DANCING? And is not the Father entreating you to come in?"

"Then—Brother cast your anger off, and every passion bury;
Come in and share the fatted calf, and let us all be merry.
Will you grieve about a kid, when the calf is killed,
If you come in when you are bid, you may yet be filled."

This doggerel appears to be of McNemar's own composition, as well as some other strains commemorative of the historic scenes he was describing in prose, fairly entitling him to the post of the Shaker Asaph.

* * * * *

"Five preachers formed a body, in eighteen hundred three,
From Antichrist's false systems to set the people free;
His doctrine and his worship in pieces they did tear,
But ere the scene was ended, these men became a snare.

* * * * *

In their LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT they published a decree,
For Christians in Ohio, Kentuck' and Tennessee,
To meet the next October, and swell the solemn prayer—
'Thy kingdom come, Lord Jesus, thy kingdom enter here!'

The meeting was observed, the solemn prayer was made;
They waited for an answer, which was not long delay'd;
The precious SEED of Canaan, long growing in the east,
Was planted in Ohio, ere the next April feast.

The long expected kingdom at length began to spring,
Which to many has appeared a strange mysterious thing:
But we'll trace it through that summer, the hottest scene of all,
And try to find its fruit in the next ensuing FALL."

Mr. McNemar took up his residence at Union, a Shaker village near Lebanon, in Ohio, where he yet lives, with Mr. Houston. He has been known occasionally, of late years, to find his way into his old friend Dr. Wilson's church, and to express himself gratified with the Doctor's discourses.

JOHN DUNLAVY was from Western Pennsylvania; and after teaching a school for some time in Kentucky, he removed to Ohio, and finally was settled as pastor of the Eagle Creek congregation, between Ripley and West Union. He was the exact opposite of Mr. McNemar, by whose influence, however, he was led astray. He was one of the most gloomy, reserved, and saturnine men that ever lived; his soul seemed to be in harmony with no one lively or social feeling, and the groans which he continually uttered drove away all pleasure in his company. He was above the middle stature, and well proportioned, but of swarthy complexion and dark, forbidding countenance. His manners were coarse, rough, and repulsive. His talents were

not above mediocrity; his knowledge was superficial; he was never regarded as a leading or influential man, nor was he a popular preacher. His favorite topics were those of terror, not consolation.

He followed McNemar through all his vagaries, till they both landed in Shakerism. Fired with a passion for authorship, he published at the Shaker village of Pleasant Hill, in Kentucky, in 1813, a dull and heavy octavo of 520 pages, entitled, "The Manifesto, or a Declaration of the doctrines and practice of the Church of Christ;" designed as an exposition and defence of the peculiarities of Shakerism, of which he professed to grow more and more enamored. Mr. Dunlavy died several years ago at Union.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN SCHISM.

UNLIKE the still small voice, or the softly flowing waters of Siloa, the Great Revival of 1800 rather resembled the whirlwind, the earthquake, the impetuous torrent, whose track was marked by violence and desolation. While numbers in the northern and central portions of Kentucky were running into the vagaries of the New Lights, or rushing from one extreme of wild extravagance to the other of Shaker mysticism, the south-western portion witnessed the gradual maturing of preparations for similar delusions, and a more permanent schism. This region, watered by Green and Cumberland rivers, was thence known sometimes as the Green river country, by which appellation it is still familiarly designated; sometimes as the Cumberland Settlements; which latter circumstance gave a name to the Presbytery, and afterward to the sect of which we are now to treat.

The commencement of the Revival, under the energetic labors and terrific preaching of Mr. McGready, in 1799, has already been described.* Suffice it, therefore, to say in this place, that so far from subsiding like a meteor-flash, it grew in intensity and strength, and spread far and wide. Camp-meetings, of which the first was appointed by Mr. McGready at Gasper river Church, in 1800, became a popular movement, and were repeated in Tennessee, the then North-Western Territory, and the Carolinas. They were accompanied by all the fervor, noise and disorder which an amalgamation with the Methodists was likely to produce. At no time, however, did the plan receive the sanction of more than five of the ministers in this region, Messrs. McGready,

* See Chap. V.

Hodge, William McGee, McAdow, and John Rankin. The other ministers were either unfriendly to the Revival or opposed to the mode in which it was conducted. Among the latter Mr. Craighead and Mr. Balch stood prominent.*

The demand for preaching soon exceeded the ability of the ordained ministers to supply it, and it was judged expedient to have a few intelligent and zealous laymen selected, and licensed as catechists and travelling exhorters, in accordance with the usage of the Presbytery of Transylvania, from its origin, as has been shown at large in a preceding chapter. The suggestion is said to have first emanated from Mr. Rice, who was impressed, while attending a sacramental meeting in those parts, with the necessity of some such measure.† Accordingly, at a meeting of Transylvania Presbytery, at Muddy river Church, October 9th, 1801, four men, Alexander Anderson, Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Ephraim McClain, by the advice of the revival ministers, offered themselves to the Presbytery for the service of the Church. These were men somewhat advanced in life, with families, destitute of collegiate education, but described as intelligent, zealous, and desirous to preach. One of them, Ewing, was an elder.‡ It was not till after warm opposition, and protracted discussion, that permission was granted them to read privately to Mr. Rice the discourses which they had prepared for the occasion; but on his reporting favorably, the Presbytery agreed to appoint said men to the business of exhortation and catechizing in vacant congregations, and directed them to prepare discourses on subjects assigned.§

* Smith's Hist. of the Cumb. Presb. Church, pp. 571, 580. Mr. Smith was Stated Clerk of the C. P. General Assembly, and editor of the C. P. newspaper. He published a volume of Mr. McGready's sermons, with a biographical sketch. The C. P. newspaper contained also several caustic essays from his pen on Dr. Cleland's article in the Biblical Repertory, 1834, to which Dr. Cleland replied in the same paper.

† Smith, pp. 580, 675. The same information was communicated to the author by Mr. Stuart.

‡ Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 54.

§ Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 35. Syned's "Brief History" of the Cumberland Presbyterians, written by Dr. Cleland, and printed by Thomas T. Skillman, Lexington, 1823, p. 4. Smith, p. 582. Mr. Smith vindicates at some length the course pursued, on the ground that Eastern men, and educated missionaries, would be formal, dry, unacquainted with human nature, and incapable of enduring privation and fatigue. But now, that the country is no longer frontier, he applauds the Manual Labor College at Princeton, Kentucky, as combining learning with other qualifications. [p. 583-585.]

At the next stated meeting, April 13, 1802, at Beaver Creek Church, in Barren county, Anderson, Ewing and King read the pieces assigned them, and, after a warm debate, Anderson was directed to prepare a sermon on Luke xiii. 24, as a trial specimen. This was carried by a majority of only one vote. By the same lean majority the rest—Ewing, King and McClain—were not received as candidates for the ministry, but were permitted to continue as catechists.* It is also worthy of note, that the Rev. Jeremiah Abel, of the Republican Methodist Society, applied for admission on this occasion, and, after reference to a committee, was received. Whether he consented to adopt the Confession or not is not stated.†

The next stated meeting was held at Spring Hill, October 5th. There were eight ministers‡ and eight elders present, all from the adjoining region, besides seven other individuals who took their seats as "Representatives" of their respective congregations, having produced certificates of their appointment as such. Whether they were elders, or only lay commissioners, we have no means of ascertaining.§

The lower members now had everything under their own control. With the exception of a called meeting to ordain Mr. Robertson, at New Providence, they had not permitted a single meeting out of their own bounds for the space of a year; and it was with a view, no doubt, to the maintenance of their ascendancy that the last adjournment had been made to a spot still farther to the south-west. The great body of the Presbytery, being so far removed from the seat of operations, found it extremely inconvenient to attend.||

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. pp. 49, 53. Smith, pp. 582, 675.

† Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 46. At this meeting the Rev. John Bowman was received from Greenville Pby.; John Rankin, a licentiate from Orange Pby., was taken under their care, afterwards ordained over Gasper river congregation, July 24th; Joseph Lapsley was received as a candidate, in the regular way; and John Hodge was licensed to preach.

‡ Messrs. Craighead, Balch, Hodge, McGready, McGee, Donnell, Rankin and Bowman. Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. p. 55.

§ Dr. Cleland, in his "Brief History," makes no remarks upon the circumstance, from which we may presume that they were regular delegates. Mr. Smith, however, seems to speak of them as a distinct class. The council formed afterwards, he describes as "consisting of the ministers, elders, and representatives from vacancies," &c., p. 614.

|| Brief Hist. p. 5. Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. pp. 38, 43, 54, 55. It is observable that Mr. Smith is silent on the subject of the places which the Presbytery selected for meeting, and of the clashing of the appointments of the Presbytery and the Synod.

There is another circumstance to be taken into view, and not even charity can vindicate it, except on the score of an ignorance itself culpable. The day to which they had adjourned was but about a week previous to that appointed by the General Assembly for so important an occasion as the first meeting of the Synod of Kentucky, at Lexington, nearly two hundred miles distant. This serves both to explain the absence of all the members from the upper counties, whose attendance was necessary to make up a constitutional quorum for the Synod, and also to explain the apparent tardiness of the Synod in arresting the irregular proceedings of which we are about to speak. The distance of the points, and the shortness of the time, precluded all communication. In fact, the Synod neither had an opportunity of seeing the records nor hearing of the disorders; and it was in total ignorance of the necessity of interference that Synod, at this meeting, in view of the manifest convenience of the measure, divided Transylvania Presbytery, and constituted out of *the lower portion* a new Presbytery, by the name of CUMBERLAND.*

These facts should be carefully noted, because it has been pretended that it was Transylvania Presbytery that was alone answerable for the licensure of the four catechists, the measure having been adopted, under its sanction, by a large majority, before the Cumberland Presbytery had a being.† This must be regarded as a mere verbal quibble and disingenuous subterfuge; because it is obvious that there was not a single member of Transylvania present, except those very individuals who soon afterward constituted the Presbytery of Cumberland; and virtually, therefore, they alone must be regarded as the accountable party.

Several petitions being offered from Rockbridge, Sharon, and other societies, importunately praying for the licensure of the four

* This was done "upon application;" by whom, it is not stated; probably by the upper members. The new Presbytery was to embrace "the members lying on the south side of a line drawn along Big Barren river to the mouth, and from thence to the mouth of Salt river." Mr. Craighead was to preach the opening sermon. Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 3.

At this meeting the Synod, feeling inadequate to supply the vast frontier beyond with missionaries, called the attention of the General Assembly to the subject, as the proper channel whence such supplies were to be expected. Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 10. The Assembly had already, at their meeting in May, (1802,) appointed a Standing Committee on Missions, by whom six missionaries were sent forth the first year. Digest, p. 370.

† See "Reply to a Pastoral Letter of West. Tennessee Pby.," cited in the "Brief Hist.," p. 5. Smith, p. 600.

catechists—Anderson, Ewing, McClain and King—and their labors being represented as highly acceptable, and marked with the Divine blessing, the Presbytery proceeded to examine them, with a view to that object. These examinations were confined to experimental religion; the evidences of their call to the ministry; divinity; and the delivery by each of a discourse. The languages and sciences were omitted. They expressed their willingness to receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of the Church, with a single exception, but that exception was very significant. They professed to believe that the idea of Fatality was there taught, under the high and mysterious doctrines of Election and Reprobation, and objected accordingly. The Presbytery, notwithstanding, by the large vote of seventeen to five, proceeded to license them, with the exception of McClain. Messrs. Dicky and Wilson were examined and licensed at the same time, in the ordinary way.*

From this act of the majority Craighead, Donnell and Balch, with the two elders, Messrs. Goodwin and Hannah, entered their dissent on the Minutes, as related to Ewing and King; because they had been rejected at the last session as candidates; because petitions tending to bias the minds of the members ought not to have been received; because their trials were altogether insufficient; because they were destitute of classical learning; and because they discovered no such extraordinary talents as to justify the measure. It is remarkable that this Dissent breathes not a syllable about the much more important doctrinal errors which these men entertained, as exhibited in their wresting to an odious meaning the terms of the Confession. Could it be that it was considered as a harmless misrepresentation, or was the silence

* The record in the case of the three irregular licentiates was as follows: "Messrs. Alexander Anderson, Finis Ewing and Samuel King being taken under the care of Presb. at our last fall session as catechists, and then licensed to exhort and catechize in our vacancies, and as their labors were attended with a Divine blessing, as Presb. have reason to believe, and being universally acceptable to our vacancies—several petitions having come forward from many of our vacancies, earnestly and importunately praying Presb. to license them to preach the Gospel—Presb., after mature deliberation, considered this matter as coming under the view of that extraordinary exception in the Book of Discipline, examined them on their experimental acquaintance with religion, the evidences of their call to the ministry, and examined them upon their knowledge in divinity—in which trials Presb. received satisfaction, and licensed them to preach the Gospel." *Min. Trans. Presb.*, vol. iii. p. 60. The exception to the Confession of Faith is not entered on the Minutes, but is mentioned by Smith, p. 582.

to be ascribed to a secret sympathy with heresy, ere long about to avow itself?

The Presbytery completed their work by receiving Ephraim McClain, after his repeated rejections, as a candidate for the ministry, and licensing three more exhorters: Lawrence Robison, Robert Bell and James Farr. James Hawe, a Republican Methodist preacher, and a violent denouncer of Presbyterianism, both from the pulpit and the press, applied for admission, and was "cordially received."* There is no evidence of his examination or recantation, to say nothing of the irregularity of receiving so cordially a person from a connection not in correspondence with the Presbyterian body. We shall again meet him as Moderator of the Presbytery of Cumberland before the commission of Synod.

Having appointed Saturday, October 30th, as a day of public thanksgiving throughout the churches, in token of gratitude to the Supreme Being for the refreshing season vouchsafed, and for sending out laborers into the vineyard, the Presbytery adjourned.†

Nothing of interest occurred till the 5th of April, 1803, when the new Cumberland Presbytery held their first meeting, at the Ridge Church, Mr. Craighead presiding. It was composed of the following ten ministers, divided into two parties, equally balanced, viz: James McGready, William Hodge, William McGee, John Rankin, Samuel McAdow, known as the Revival Party; Thomas B. Craighead, Terah Templin, John Bowman, Samuel Donnell, James Balch, called the Anti-Revival party.

These parties were distinctly marked, and held no intercourse with each other, except when thrown together at the ecclesiastical meetings. Neither party, however, was strictly homogeneous. McGready and Hodge, though in their fiery zeal they trampled on order, yet professed to be Calvinists; while their associates, Rankin, McGee, and the whole troop of exhorters, were as decidedly Arminian. On the other hand, Craighead, though a man of brilliant talents, and a staunch champion for discipline and order, made no pretensions to rigid orthodoxy, and his Pelagian sentiments were no secret. Bowman, although he voted on the orthodox side, was accused of being a Stoneite;

* Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 60. Brief Hist. p. 6.

† Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 60.

and was afterwards, indeed, (April 5, 1810,) suspended by the Presbytery of Transylvania, for refusing to appear and answer to a charge of heresy and schism. As for McAdow, Templin and Donnell, they were neither qualified by nature or education to be conspicuous or influential.*

At this first meeting the Cumberland Presbytery licensed four additional catechists. Mr. Anderson was directed to prepare for ordination, which took place in May following at Shiloh.†

The majority carried out their plans with unabated vigor, and with a high hand. On petitions from Spring Creek, McAdow, and Clarksville congregations, they proceeded to ordain Finis Ewing in November. The minority, though there is no record of their disapprobation at the time, afterwards, (April 3, 1804,) objected to his taking his seat as being illegally ordained; but they were overruled.‡ Illiterate exhorters, with Arminian sentiments were multiplied, till they soon numbered seventeen.§ They were directed to exercise themselves in composition on subjects of their own selection, and show their pieces to the nearest minister convenient. Some were received as candidates on delivering a single discourse, as a specimen of their abilities. Of none, whether licensed or ordained, was it required to adopt the Confession of Faith, save *so far only* as they believed it to agree with the word of God. The Exhorters, burning with zeal, travelled incessantly through the vacant congregations upon their "circuits," (a device borrowed from the Methodists two years before,) exhorting without the formality of a text. The churches were directed to contribute to their pecuniary support. Their labors were very successful, and in the language of their apologists, the desert blossomed as the rose. A number of "Young Societies" were organized, and furnished with elders; and beyond doubt, unless this process had being speedily checked, the result would have been to establish a very undesirable ascendancy in the Synod.||

Through the agency of Mr. Rice, these matters were brought to the notice of the General Assembly, meeting in Philadelphia,

* Smith, pp. 594, 597, 598, 636. Lyle's Missionary Tour in the bounds of Cumberland Pby. (MSS.) pp. 7, 54, 55.

† Smith, p. 594. ‡ Smith, p. 595.

§ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 71.

|| Smith, pp. 586, 620. Brief Hist. pp. 7, 8.

in the month of May. Mr. Rice had addressed a letter to that venerable body, by direction of the Presbytery of Transylvania, requesting advice and direction on the delicate point of licensing men to preach without a liberal education. Their reply was in substance as follows :

A liberal education, though not absolutely essential, has been shown to be highly important and useful, from reason, experience, and the prosperity of the Presbyterian and New England churches. But whatever might be the Assembly's opinion, the Standards are explicit on the subject. As to the apprehension of schism in consequence of rigid views, the reply must be, that the path of duty is the path of safety, and events are to be committed to God. Parties formed under such circumstances would neither be important nor permanent. Notwithstanding, when the field is too extensive, catechists, like those of primitive times may be found useful assistants. But great caution should be used in selecting *prudent and sound* men, lest they run into extravagance and pride. Their duties should be clearly and precisely defined, and subject to frequent inspection. They should not be considered standing officers in the Church ; but, if possessed of uncommon talents, diligent in study, and promising usefulness, they might in time purchase to themselves a good degree, and be admitted in regular course to the holy ministry.*

Nothing was done by the Synod until 1804, for at the session of 1803 neither delegates nor records were present from Cumberland Presbytery.† But in October, 1804,‡ the subject was brought up by a written remonstrance, signed by Craighead, Donnell, and Bowman, containing a protest and complaint against the doings of the majority. Synod finding it impracticable to issue the case at that time, cited both the parties, complained of and complaining, to appear before them the next fall,

* See copious extracts in the Assembly's Digest, pp. 148-151. Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 87.

† Brief Hist. p. 8.

‡ On this occasion, though the minutes were not forthcoming, Messrs. McGready, Donnell, and Ewing were present, with three elders, John Dicky, Reuben Ewing, and Young Ewing. Min. Syn., vol. i. p. 42. The Presbytery of Transylvania seem to have been put to some trouble to recover possession of their records, for at a meeting, October 6, 1803, we find the Stated Clerk ordered to procure them from the Stated Clerk of Cumberland Presbytery, in time for the inspection of Synod. Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. 77.

and enjoined each of the Presbyteries to pay particular attention to the rules laid down in the Constitution, and to the Letter of the General Assembly. Meantime, Messrs. Rice, Blythe, Lyle, Cameron and Rannels were appointed a Committee of Inquiry, to attend the earliest meeting of the Cumberland Presbytery, and report the result of their observations.*

None of the Committee attended but Mr. Cameron, and he refused to sit as a Corresponding Member, when invited. The young men, from timidity, shrank from reading their trial pieces in his presence. He was denounced as a spy; and the appointment of the Committee was held up to odium, as an unprecedented and unwarrantable stretch of power.†

A crisis was now approaching. The Synod met at Danville, October 15, 1805, and the records of Cumberland Presbytery being at last forthcoming after so long delay, the whole case came up by ordinary review and control. Of the members of the Presbytery only two, Messrs. Donnell and Dicky, were present. The majority were believed to have absented themselves on the ground that the citation by Synod was precipitate and illegal.‡

The book was put into the hands of a Committee, consisting of Cameron, Lyle and James Henderson, for examination. They reported the records to be extremely defective, discordant, and obscure; and abounding in evidences of the flagrant violation of the Rules of Discipline. They noticed the reception of Hawe the Methodist; the licensing of seventeen men, sometimes called Regular Exhorters, sometimes Licentiates; the establishment of Circuits; the illegal recommendation of contributions by the people for the support of the exhorters; the licensing of illiterate persons with approbation; the judgment of the Presbytery in the division of Shiloh congregation, &c.§ This report was sufficient to convince Synod that the most prompt and stringent measures were necessary. Yet they felt embarrassed. For immediate action they were not prepared. They had before them the records, and the minority's Remonstrance of the year previous, besides two of the opposition members;|| but they were

* Minutes of the Synod of Ky., vol. i. p. 61.

† Smith, pp. 596, 597.

‡ Smith, p. 599.

§ Min. Syn., vol. i. pp. 69-71.

|| We find the following minute concerning Mr. Dicky in 1801. "Whereas Mr. Dicky, [then a candidate,] is reported to have absented himself from the

ignorant of the whole case, and there was no one present to act for the defence. Of the degree of disqualification on the part of the licentiates, they had no authoritative information, and of the adoption of the Confession with reservations, there was no mention in the record. The Committee of Inquiry had failed to discharge their duty, and Mr. Cameron, the only member who attended, declined making any report.* Something must be done. Too much time had already been lost. To meet next year in the scene of difficulty, and postpone action till then, would be losing another twelvemonth, besides incurring the hazard of not obtaining a constitutional quorum, in consequence of the remoteness of the northern members.†

In view therefore of the urgency of the case, and after considerable deliberation, the Synod appointed a COMMISSION, consisting of ten ministers and six elders; any seven ministers, with as many elders as should be present, to form a quorum. The members of the Commission were the Rev. Messrs. Lyle, Campbell, Cameron, Howe, Rannels, Stuart, Joshua L. Wilson, Robert Wilson, Cleland, and Tull, and Messrs. McDowell, Brank, Allen, Henderson, Gaines, and Wallace, ruling elders. Each Commissioner pledged himself to attend, that there might be no failure or disappointment. They were to meet in six weeks from that time, at Gasper river Meeting-House, in Logan county; and citations were to be carefully given by the Stated Clerk to all the parties concerned. The Commission was vested with full Synodical powers to adjudicate upon the proceedings of Cumberland Presbytery, which had been brought before the notice of Synod. The tangled affairs of Shiloh congregation were also to receive a portion of their attention. Mr. Lyle was designated as Moderator, and he was to open the Commission with a sermon. The Synod resolved to observe the day specified for the meeting, as a day of solemn fasting and prayer in all the

communion of the Church, and opposed the revival of religion in many instances, the Presbytery recommend it to said Dicky henceforth to return to Christian communion, and endeavor to promote vital religion; and in order to this, always endeavor to direct either real, blind, or false zeal from every other object to the faith of Christ." Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 37.

* Their reasons for absence appear to have been sustained. Min. Syn., vol. i., p. 73.

† Brief Hist., p. 9.

churches, for the divine blessing on the efforts of the Commission.* The entire minute is as follows :

“On motion, Resolved, that the business of the Cumberland Presbytery be again taken up. After considerable deliberation, it was resolved, that the Rev. John Lyle, John P. Campbell, Archibald Cameron, Joseph P. Howe, Samuel Rannels, Robert Stuart, Joshua L. Wilson, Robert Wilson, Thomas Cleland, and Isaac Tull, together with Messrs. William McDowell, Robert Brank, James Allen, James Henderson, Richard Gaines, and Andrew Wallace, ruling elders, or any seven ministers of them, with as many elders as may be present, be a Commission, vested with full Synodical powers, to confer with the members of Cumberland Presbytery, and adjudicate on their Presbyterial proceedings, which appear upon the minutes of said Presbytery, for the purpose aforesaid, and taken notice of by the Committee appointed by Synod to examine said minutes ; that the said Commission meet on the first Tuesday in December next, at Gasper Meeting-House, Logan county, in the bounds of said Presbytery, for the purpose aforesaid. That notice be given to the members of said Presbytery, by the Stated Clerk of Synod, to attend on the day and at the place aforesaid, so that a full, fair and friendly investigation may take place. That the said Commission take into consideration and decide upon a letter from the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead and others, and an appeal from the judgment of said Presbytery, by certain members of Shiloh congregation, and that the Stated Clerk of Synod furnish the Commission aforesaid with the papers and documents relative to the whole of the aforesaid proceedings.

The Stated Clerk of Synod, together with Messrs. Lyle, Donald and Dicky were individually directed to use all necessary exertions in citing the members of Cumberland Presbytery to attend the above-mentioned meeting of the Commission of Synod, and especially that written citations be sent by the St. ed

* At this meeting two important measures were adopted. The first was, that each Presbytery should seek out some indigent pious young man, of promising talents, in their bounds, to be educated for the ministry. The other, was an order for an annual Missionary Sermon. The first sermon was preached by Mr. Rice the following year, (October 25, 1806,) from Prov. iii. 6. \$88 were collected, and forwarded by Dr. Andrew McCalla, the Treasurer, to the Committee of Missions of the General Assembly. Min. Syn., vol. i. pp. 76, 122.

Clerk of Synod to the Moderator of said Presbytery, and to the Rev. James McGready."*

On Tuesday, the third of December, 1805, the Commission of Synod assembled at Gasper Meeting-House. Mr. Lyle† preached the opening sermon, on the call and qualifications necessary to the Gospel ministry, from the text, "And no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron."—Hebr. v. 4. The sermon was three hours long,‡ but the audience were very attentive. Some appeared to be pleased and edified; others, belonging to the Cumberland Presbytery, were dissatisfied and uneasy. After sermon the Commission was organized. All were present except Messrs. Campbell, Robert Wilson, and Henderson. So there was a quorum. The Rev. Joseph P. Howe was chosen Moderator, and Joshua L. Wilson and Mr. Allen, Clerks.§

Upon inquiry, it was ascertained that the citations had been duly served.|| All the members of Cumberland Presbytery implicated were present to answer, viz: McGready, Hodge, McGee, Rankin, McAdow, Hawe, Finis Ewing, King, Nelson, and Samuel Hodge, the last four having been ordained by the Presbytery; together with Hugh Kirkpatrick, James B. Porter, Robert Bell, David Foster, and Thomas Calhoun, licentiates; and Robert Guthrie, Samuel K. Blythe, and Samuel Donnell, candidates.¶

The Commissioners soon felt that they had to contend with the most violent prejudices and misrepresentations. They were denounced as a species of inquisition, whose odious errand it was

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 78, 79. Bishop's Rice, p. 120.

† The Rev. John P. Campbell having declined an appointment to ride on a missionary tour for two months, in the bounds of Cumberland Presbytery, the Synod unanimously appointed Mr. Lyle. He promptly started, having obtained leave of absence, and set out from Danville on Friday, Oct. 18, in the evening. He drew up a succinct Narrative of his missionary tour, for the inspection of the Assembly's Committee of Missions, to whom he was made responsible, to which, like his Diary, often before cited, the author is much indebted.

‡ Mr. Lyle preached also on the ensuing Sabbath, on the Divine purpose, (2 Tim. i. 9,) and the sermon was again three hours long. "I spoke longer than usual," he writes, "because the circumstances seemed to demand it." The people appeared generally pleased, and some edified. Lyle's Tour, p. 59. Mr. Lyle's habitual limits were far beyond those set by the fastidious weariness of this degenerate age, to whom Dr. Nisbet's sarcastic remark is very applicable, that "a long sermon is a great affliction to the ungodly."

§ Min. Syn. vol. i. 82. (Report of the Comm.) Lyle's Tour, p. 57.

|| Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 82.

¶ Smith, p. 605.

to stop the revival, and cut off all the young preachers and circuit-riders because they were unacquainted with Latin and Greek. The force of ridicule, as well as of malice, was brought to bear upon them, and the respective members were designated by opprobrious nicknames. The whole community were exasperated. There was but a single man in the entire neighborhood, (and he lived three or four miles from the Church,) who was willing to open his house and extend common hospitality to the members. The name of this worthy individual deserves to be commemorated. It was James Reid. At this house the whole Commission lodged, having to travel the above distance every morning and evening, without eating in the interim. That nothing might be left undone to stimulate the passions of the people, Mr. Rankin, the pastor of the Church, himself an avowed Arminian, and afterwards a Shaker, delivered an inflammatory address to the assembled multitude, well calculated to provoke mobbing and personal violence. This was done one evening after adjournment, in the presence of the Commission.

To complete the turmoil, the Shakers, who had a village in the vicinity, were on the ground in full strength, with Houston the apostate, who, however, had shame enough left to shun his former brethren and associates. They anticipated a great commotion and schism, and hoped to cast their net successfully in the troubled waters.

Notwithstanding an array of circumstances so well adapted to harrass if not to intimidate, the Commissioners, with unshaken intrepidity, calmly proceeded in the discharge of their difficult duty.*

On the second day the warrant of the Commission was read, and its object explained; after which the Commission united with the members of Cumberland Presbytery, and a large assembly of people, in solemn prayer for the Divine blessing. The first case taken up was that of Mr. James Hawe, who had been received from the Methodist connection without renouncing his

* MSS. notes of Mr. Stuart's conversations. Brief Hist. p. 12. Bishop's Rice, p. 121. It is observable that Mr. Smith maintains a profound silence as to the above particulars. From Mr. Lyle we learn that a Circular Letter of the Synod, and other pamphlets which were for sale, were collected by some of Mr. Hodge's people, and publicly burnt, with Mr. Hodge's approbation. Lyle's Tour, p. 21.

former tenets. The Commission were unanimously of opinion that the Presbytery had acted illegally in admitting Mr. Hawe, without first examining him in divinity, and requiring him to adopt the Confession of Faith, and they resolved to inquire into his doctrinal views.* It was not until the fifth day that an opportunity offered for doing so, when Mr. Hawe being called on, prudently refused to submit to an examination, on the plea that he was already admitted and beyond reach, except by a regular process for heresy.†

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, were devoted to the Irregular Licensures and Ordinations. Of these cases there were no fewer than twenty-seven.‡ From an examination of the records and the dissent of the minority, and from a conference with the members of the Presbytery, it was clearly ascertained that these individuals, contrary to the rules of the Church, had been permitted to adopt the Confession with the reservation "as far as they deemed it agreeable to the word of God;" a method which effectually precluded all definite knowledge of their real opinions. The Presbytery plead in justification, that the Confession was of human composition, and fallible, and that they could not in conscience feel bound by it any farther than it corresponded with Scripture. What aggravated their offence was the avowal that though they themselves had subscribed the Confession, they did not believe all its contents, and so could not consistently require its unreserved adoption by others. As to the dispensing with literary qualifications, they asserted that the young men possessed extraordinary talents, and so came within the exception of the 14th chapter of the Form of Government. They further

* Mr. Smith intimates, p. 605, that this was an outrage upon justice, because they had not the minutes before them. But in the Remonstrance of the Council to the General Assembly, in 1807, it is admitted that the minutes were produced in evidence. p. 621. This the Synod also asserted in their defence to the General Assembly, written in 1807. Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 151. He charges Hawe's admission on Transylvania Presbytery as their act. But Mr. Hawe, though admitted on application by Transylvania Presbytery, did not take his seat till the first meeting of Cumberland Presbytery, after the division, as appears from the minutes of Cumberland Presbytery. p. 600. Then was the appropriate time to have examined him personally.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 84, 91.

‡ One of these "young men," (as all unite to call them,) had hanged himself; two had embraced the sentiments of Mr. Stone; and the rest, the Commission had reason to suspect, from common fame and personal conversation, were nearly all Arminians in doctrine, and Enthusiasts in practice. Lyle's Tour, p. 61.

pleaded a number of precedents; such as the case of Mr. Beck, received by a Presbytery in North Carolina; Mr. Bloodworth, by Orange; Mr. Moore, by Hanover; Mr. Marquis, by Redstone; Messrs. Kemper and Abell, (a Methodist,) by Transylvania. They likewise cited the case of a poor illiterate man in Pennsylvania, many years ago, who was not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to be examined in it; whereupon the Presbytery of Philadelphia had him examined in his own language by Mr. Davis, himself likewise a native of Wales, (whom, by an unfortunate anachronism, they confounded with President Davies of Virginia, a native of Delaware,) and Mr. Davis declared that he never had assisted in bringing a man into the ministry with greater freedom in his life.* The Committee thereupon resolved to institute an examination themselves, in order to judge of the young men's qualifications.†

The majority now interposed, disclaiming the jurisdiction and authority of the Synod or its Commission in the premises, on the ground that the Presbytery possessed the exclusive right to examine and license their own candidates.‡ "I stand between these young men and your bar," said Mr. Hodge.§ Several members of the Commission addressed them, and earnestly urged them to yield. The Moderator, Mr. Howe, solemnly adjured both the majority and the young men to submit, pledging his word that all who would be found upon examination to be prepared, should readily obtain a regular license. Each party requested leave to retire into the adjoining grove for consultation

* Smith, p. 678. This is gravely narrated in the Circular issued in 1810, the blunders of which are amusing. The last case cited is that of David Evans, a layman who undertook to preach without any authority in the Welsh Tract, Chester county; but the Presbytery of Philadelphia censured him for his irregularity, and directed him to give up secular business and devote himself to study for a twelvemonth, under the direction of Mr. Andrews. The force of the precedent, fairly stated, turns altogether against those who brought it forward. See Records of the Presbyterian Church, vol. i. p. 16.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 85-87, 153. Bishop's Rice, p. 122.

‡ The majority, Mr. Smith who defends them, (p. 607,) and the General Assembly, who in their letter to the Synod in 1807, regarded this measure as "at least of questionable regularity," seem all to have forgotten the power with which the Constitution clothes a Synod; "to redress whatever has been done by Presbyteries contrary to order; to take effectual care that Presbyteries observe the Constitution of the Church," &c. Form of Gov. ch. xi. § 4. It is true, the Assembly, after fuller information, retracted this implied censure, and highly applauded the Synod for the course taken. Digest, pp. 137, 140.

§ Lyle's Tour, p. 62.

and prayer.* Finis Ewing was the spokesman of the young men, of whom there were eleven present. Some of the Commission objected to the withdrawal, but finally it was agreed to.†

As they were about to retire, Mr. Stuart rose under the impulse of the moment, and entreated them to think seriously of the consequences of their decision upon their temporal and eternal interests. Under his earnest and pathetic appeal, the audience, the Commission, and the young men, all melted into tears. Indeed, this little circumstance, with the prudent and forbearing deportment of the Commission, made a very favorable impression on the people, and disarmed them to some extent of their prejudices.‡ During the absence of the parties above-mentioned, the Commission with the Assembly united in prayer. It was felt to be a solemn moment.§

On the return of Messrs. McGready, Hodge, McGee, Rankin, and McAdow, they collectively and individually answered the question, "Do you submit?" in the negative.

The Moderator then turned to the young men, and solemnly adjured them to submit. Being called on individually, they each refused to do so; affirming their persuasion that the Cumberland Presbytery was a regular church judicatory, and competent to judge of the faith and abilities of its candidates. They maintained that they were neither charged with heresy nor immorality, and if they were, the Presbytery was the proper tribunal to which they were amenable.||

The intervening Sabbath was spent in religious exercises. On Monday the Commission rendered their decision. The recusants, twenty-four in number, together with James Hawe, having by their contumacy virtually renounced the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church, were solemnly prohibited, until sub-

* Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 89. Notes of Stuart's Conv.

† Smith, p. 608.

‡ Notes of Stuart's Conv. Whatever good effects were produced however, Mr. Rankin's inflammatory address that evening must have neutralized them.

§ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 89.

|| Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 90, 91. Smith, p. 608. The apologist, in his eagerness to place everything in the fairest light, would have his reader notice that these young men, during their absence, had neither held a consultation, nor agreed on any common plan of action; of course their unanimity is to be ascribed to a semi-inspiration in answer to their prayers. The wildest enthusiast may justify himself in the same way. We have no promise of guidance when we presumptuously leave the path of duty.

mission, from preaching or administering ordinances, in consequence of any authority derived from the Cumberland Presbytery.

As for Messrs. McGready, Hodge, McGee, Rankin, and McAdow, the Commission waived their right to deal with them for their contumacy, and remanded them to the Synod, at whose next meeting they were cited to appear ; the last four especially to answer to charges of holding and propagating errors in doctrine, of which they were accused by common fame.

The entire decision is as follows :

“Whereas, the Commission of Synod have, in a friendly manner. conferred with the Cumberland Presbytery, and have examined into the proceedings of said Presbytery in licensing men to exhort and to preach the Gospel, and in ordaining some to administer ordinances, and have found that those proceedings were very irregular ; and whereas, when those men irregularly licensed, &c., were called upon to come forward to be examined by the Commission, Messrs. William Hodge, James McGready, William McGee, John Rankin, and Samuel McAdow interposed to prevent the examination ; and also that the Moderator called upon the following persons, viz : Robert Guthrie, Samuel Hodge, James Porter, David Foster, Finis Ewing, Hugh Kirkpatrick, Thomas Nelson, Thomas Calhoon, Samuel Donnell, junior, Samuel King, Samuel Blythe, and Robert Bell, to come forward and stand an examination as to their qualifications for the Gospel ministry, they refused to comply, thereby virtually renouncing the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church ; and it being proclaimed by common fame that the majority of these men are not only illiterate, but erroneous in sentiment, Resolved, that as the above-named persons never had regular authority from the Presbytery of Cumberland to preach the Gospel, &c., the Commission of Synod prohibit, and they do hereby solemnly prohibit, the said persons from exhorting, preaching, and administering ordinances in consequence of any authority which they have obtained from the Cumberland Presbytery, until they submit to our jurisdiction, and undergo the requisite examination. And it is farther Resolved, that the following persons, viz : James Farr, Lawrence Rollison, Robert Houston, James Crawford, Reuben Dooley, Robert Wilson, James Duggins, Michael Find-

ley, Ephraim McClain, John Hodge, Alexander Chapman, William McClure, Stephen Clinton, and William Moore, who are now absent, together with James Hawe, be laid under the same prohibition.

“Although we conceive the Commission have Synodical power to adjudicate upon the conduct of the Rev. James McGready, William Hodge, William McGee, John Rankin, and Samuel McAdow, in not submitting to the examination of those men who had been irregularly licensed and ordained, when solemnly adjured by the Moderator agreeably to the resolution of the Commission, yet we decline pronouncing sentence, and remand said persons to the Synod of Kentucky; and they are hereby cited to appear at our next Annual Session to be held in the Presbyterian Church in Lexington, on the third Tuesday of October next, to account for said conduct.

“And whereas, common fame loudly proclaims that the Rev. Messrs. William Hodge, William McGee, and John Rankin, hold and propagate doctrines contrary to those contained in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, Resolved, that they be and they are hereby cited to appear before the Synod of Kentucky at their next session, there to answer to the above charge.

“And the Cumberland Presbytery are hereby most solemnly charged to perform their Presbyterial business in an orderly manner, and that they be more accurate in keeping their records in future.

“Whereas, it appears to the Commission that Thomas Nelson has been irregularly ordained as the Pastor of Mount Zion and Carmel, and whereas the said Nelson is now prohibited from preaching under any authority derived from the Presbyterian Church; on motion Resolved, that the said congregations be, and they are hereby, declared vacant, and that Messrs. Cameron and Joshua L. Wilson preach at Mount Carmel and Mount Zion as early as possible after the rising of this Commission, and read to them this resolution.” Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 92, 95.

Messrs. Hodge, Rankin, and McGee, handed in a written refusal to obey the citation, on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Their objections were probably based on the charge of heresy being unaccompanied with specifications; and the assumed

competency of the Presbytery to try its own members. The Commission reconsidered their citation, and reaffirmed it. There existed, according to their showing, an imperious necessity for taking the case out of the hands of the Presbytery to the higher court, inasmuch as there would not be left a sufficient number of disinterested members to adjudicate. To obviate the objection of a general charge, they specified certain errors held by the three recusants aforesaid; viz: the denial of the doctrine of Election, and the holding that there is a certain sufficiency of grace given to every man, which if he will improve, he shall obtain more, until he arrive at true conversion; which grace they variously expressed as a talent, or a power to accept the offer of salvation from a spark of grace given to every man in his natural state; and by like phrases.*

Tuesday, the seventh day of the Session, was occupied with the Shiloh appeal. The pastor, Mr. Hodge, was one of the Revival preachers, and his measures gave such offence to a portion of the congregation, that they took possession of the church edifice and closed it against him.† The matter was brought before the Presbytery, and decided in Mr. Hodge's favor. The malcontents then seceded, and formed a separate society, to which they gave the name of "The Orderly part of Shiloh Congregation;" and called the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead to be their pastor. The Presbytery refused to sanction the division, on the alleged ground that, the church property being implicated, the affair was cognizable in a civil court only. This does not seem clear; but as far as the Commission were concerned, they avoided the civil question, and reversed the judgment of the Presbytery, permitting the Appellants to congregate under any other name than Shiloh.‡

The Commission then took up the case of Mr. Craighead,

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 97, 98.

† That he should have given great offence is not surprising, if many of his proceedings were like that recorded by Mr. Lyle. It was with his warm approbation that the Synod's Circular and other pamphlets were publicly burnt by some of his people. Lyle's Tour, p. 21.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 96. Smith, p. 667. From the minutes of the Presbytery it would seem that the Presbytery refused their petition, because they had seceded from their brethren for communing with such as held Arminian principles; because they were believed to oppose and condemn the revival; and because their representatives had, in 1804, declared themselves not in communion with the Presbytery. Minutes of Cumb. Pby, filed among the papers of Transylvania Pby. p. 21.

charged by common fame as denying the doctrines of Election, and the special operations of the Spirit of God in conversion. He was examined on these points, the questions and answers being in writing, and his answers were pronounced agreeable to the Confession, a few ambiguous and unsatisfactory expressions excepted.* But, that we may preserve the unity of the subject unbroken, the details are reserved for a subsequent chapter.

The Commission of Synod finally adjourned on Wednesday, the 11th of December, after a weary session of eight days, the intervening Sabbath not included. Messrs. Cameron, Lyle, and Stuart, were appointed a committee to superintend the publication of their report.†

Thus terminated one of the most interesting and important convocations ever known in the American Church ; without precedent, and, thus far, without imitation. It appears to have been conducted with admirable dignity, prudence and moderation ; and beyond doubt served to check for a while the lawless and insubordinate spirit that was then rife in the West, and which at length broke forth in an extensive schism, fomented and directed by the ambition of clerical novices not having before their eyes the warning of the apostle Paul, and the condemnation of the first fallen angel. The selection of the Commissioners was highly judicious. The names of such men as Mr. Lyle, Mr. Stuart, Dr. Wilson and Dr. Cleland, names that will long be cherished in the West with affection and esteem, may serve as a guarantee for the wisdom and propriety of what was done. They were indeed assailed on the spot with a fanatical rancor and a vulgar ribaldry, poorly calculated to exalt our ideas of the morals or the manners of the population ; and, as was to be expected, by those who chafed under the wholesome curb of discipline their appointment has been branded as inquisitorial tyranny, and their measures as high-handed usurpation ; but the voice of the Supreme Tribunal of the Church, and the verdict of impartial posterity, have not only acquitted them of censure, but have pronounced a cordial approval of their conduct, as meriting well of their own and succeeding generations.

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 98, 103. Lyle's Tour, p. 64.

† Min. Syn. vol. i, p. 103.

The charge that this was an un-Presbyterian measure could have originated only in the grossest ignorance of the practice of the Mother Church of Scotland. "What matters," says Stewart of Pardovan, "General Assemblies cannot undertake themselves, they do refer to their Commissions; in propriety of speech they do import the same thing with committees; yet, *de praxi*, a committee is appointed only to *prepare* matters, whereas a Commission *determines* in matters *committed to them*, and from whose sentence therein lieth no appeal to the ensuing General Assembly, though a complaint may be tabled before the next General Assembly against the Commission on account of their proceedings."*

Immediately after the Commission was dissolved, the majority of Cumberland Presbytery, or the Revival Members, as they loved to be styled, formed themselves into a *Council*, consisting of ministers, elders, and representatives from vacancies. All the congregations connected with the party heartily united, with very few exceptions. At these councils no Presbyterial business was transacted. They continued to preach, and encouraged the young men to exhort and preach, regardless of the Commission's prohibition. Meanwhile the revival continued to make progress, and numbers were added to the churches.†

The withdrawal of Mr. McGready from their ranks, soon after the formation of the Council, was a heavy blow to the party. Mr. McGready was a Calvinist of the old school. He lamented the prevalence of Arminian sentiments, and feared a still wider departure from orthodoxy in the course of time. He was ardently attached to the Presbyterian Church, and had had no expectation that the measures of the Presbytery would lead to a separation. After the meeting of the Commission, he became convinced that such would be the final issue, and determined to keep aloof. He ceased to attend the Councils, although two years elapsed before he returned to Transylvania Presbytery. He shortly after removed to the town of Henderson, upon the Ohio river, at a greater distance from the scene of agitation.‡

Alarmed by the recent events, the West Lexington Presbytery resolved to redouble its caution; and at their meeting in

* Stewart's Collections, Bk. I. Title 15. Brief Hist. p. 10.

† Smith, p. 614.

‡ Smith, p. 615.

April, 1806, in order to guard against the admission of insufficient men into the ministry, Mr. Lyle was appointed "Professor of Theology." All students and candidates under the care of the Presbytery were recommended to him, and were to continue under his direction till the Presbytery should deem them to have acquired a competent knowledge of Theology.*

At the following Synod in Lexington, October 21st, 1806, Messrs. Craighead, Templin, Hodge, Rankin, Donnell, and Dicky, with Thomas Donnell, an elder, were present from Cumberland Presbytery. Mr. McGready, by letter, satisfactorily explained the reason of his absence. Messrs. Hodge and Rankin attended not from obedience to the citation of the Commission, but, by the advice of the council, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation.† The minutes of the Commission were read, and their proceedings sanctioned. Hodge and Rankin, being called on, professed that they were willing to undergo a personal examination, but were not willing to submit to the silencing of the young men. Their reasons appeared to the Synod unsatisfactory and inadmissible. In hope of their being induced to recede from their determination, a final decision was repeatedly deferred, and a committee was appointed to confer privately with them. The committee labored zealously, but could accomplish nothing. The two members explicitly disavowed all heterodox opinions,‡ but continued resolute in their contumacy. The Synod, in consequence, pronounced upon them, at length, sentence of suspension until repentance and submission. Being asked if they desired to appeal, they disclaimed all intention of appealing to any earthly tribunal. The citations of the absentees were renewed.

It being apparent that the difficulties in the Cumberland Presbytery had grown to such a height as to incapacitate for the transaction of business, the Synod dissolved it, and reannexed the members to the Presbytery of Transylvania.§

* Min. West Lex. Pby. vol. i. p. 175. It would seem that great difficulty was experienced in getting the Sessions to keep and present Records. Inquiries were repeatedly made. In October, 1805, Tull and Howe kept no regular record; Stuart only partially; the year following neither Howe nor Blythe were found to have a session book; but all promised amendment. pp. 162, 191.

† Smith, p. 616.

‡ Smith, p. 623.

§ Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 104-126. Smith, p. 616.

The suspended members, although they had disclaimed any intention of appealing from the sentence of the Synod, nevertheless united with the rest of the Council, (to whom they reported their failure,) in sending up a letter of remonstrance to the next General Assembly. This was a long document, occupying more than half a dozen octavo pages. In this document they took a retrospect of the last seven years; elaborately vindicated their proceedings, by pleading the necessity of the case, the Assembly's letter to Mr. Rice, and other considerations; expatiated on their meekness, entreaties, and unprovoking defence; and complained bitterly of the severity of the Commission. So far from rejecting the doctrines or discipline of the Church, every preacher and exhorter had adopted or received the Confession, firmly persuaded that it contains the best system of Scripture doctrines and discipline, of any known by them upon earth, but not so sacred nor infallible as the Scriptures. At the Councils, for they had not met as a Presbytery since the Commission, all their licentiates had cheerfully submitted to a re-examination upon divinity as taught in the Shorter Catechism; also upon English grammar and other useful studies. They never had embraced the idea of an unlearned ministry, but, on the contrary, esteemed a learned and pious ministry, and hoped the Church might never be destitute of such an ornament.

They concluded with intimating, not by way of threat, but of honest information, that they had great difficulty to prevent the people breaking off at once; and if their grievances were not redressed, every respectable congregation in Cumberland and the Barrens of Kentucky would be lost. The reverse would bind them to the Presbyterian connection, and give joy to thousands. They signed themselves, "your distressed subscribing brothers."*

In May, 1807, the General Assembly met. Dr. Archibald Alexander was Moderator that year. The Rev. Messrs. Came-

* Smith, pp. 619-625. It is observable that the Memorialists maintain a discreet silence as to adopting with reservations; and their description of their own lamb-like demeanor is in striking contrast with the accounts given by Cleland, Stuart, and Lyle. If they had no other text-book in divinity for their candidates than the Shorter Catechism, a compend which ought to have been familiar to every child in the congregation, it must be confessed that they were likely to rear a body of profound theologians! How they disposed of the bugbear of "Fatality," in the Catechism, is left entirely in the dark.

ron and Kemper, and Mr. McCalla, elder, were on the floor from the Synod of Kentucky. The Cumberland case attracted much attention, and elicited a keen debate. Dr. Green, and Messrs. Janeway, Cathcart, Linn, and Cameron, warmly advocated the Synod; Drs. Miller, Woodhull, James P. Wilson, and Speece, were as strenuous in opposition. With the latter party sided Messrs. Kemper and McCalla. It appeared to be the prevailing opinion that the Cumberland Presbytery had erred, but that the Synod had acted with too much rigor. It was argued, that a Synod may proceed against a Presbytery by censuring, dividing, or dissolving it, but not against individual members, except in case of appeal; that only a Presbytery can examine licentiates or call members to account for errors in doctrine or practice; that a man once ordained, although improperly, cannot be afterwards deprived of his office except for some cause arising or made public after ordination; that the Synod were correct in dissolving and reannexing the Presbytery, but transcended their power in suspending ordained ministers, especially by a Commission. On the other hand, there was a strong minority, who strenuously maintained the necessity of strict discipline, and insisted on the authority and rights of Synods and General Assemblies.* The issue was, that the Assembly dispatched two letters, one to the Synod, and the other to Mr. McAdow and his friends.

In the letter to the Synod, the Assembly commended the zeal and decision exhibited by them in very embarrassing circumstances; but, at the same time, suggested that the insisting on the young men's re-examination, the suspension of the irregularly ordained ministers without process, and the suspension of Messrs. Hodge and Rankin for resisting the re-examination, were "at least of questionable regularity." They, therefore,

* The above details are gleaned from a letter written to Mr. Hodge, by a member of the first Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, under the care of Dr. J. P. Wilson, and a Trustee of the Assembly; the name is suppressed. The writer was evidently one who sympathized warmly with the recusants. The whole letter may be found in Smith, pp. 625-627. Smith also quotes with exultation the opinion of "that evangelical minister and sound disciplinarian, Dr. Ely," who said, in his brief history of the Cumberland Presbyterians, "There can be no doubt now in the mind of any sound Presbyterian but that the *suspension* of the ministers above named was wholly unconstitutional, and ought, therefore, to be held to be void." p. 617.

advised a serious review of their proceedings, in order, if possible, to mitigate or remove the evils complained of. Without implying that the demands of our standards should be regarded otherwise than inviolable and indispensable, yet there must be supposed the right and the duty of exercising a sound discretion, which will consult the spirit, as well as the letter of the law; which will sometimes forbid the exercise of legitimate power; which will endeavor, with equal caution, to avoid the extremes of rigor and of laxness; which will yield something, yet not concede everything, to circumstances; which, in a word, will recollect that power is given for edification, and not for destruction, and endeavor to be guided by this rule. The Assembly expressed the hope that in the exercise of this discretion, the Synod might be able to re-establish the Presbytery of Cumberland, and restore to Christian communion, and ministerial usefulness, some of its former members and licentiates, without sacrificing either the doctrines or the government of our Church. Of this the Synod must be the judge.*

In their letter to Mr. McAdow and his associates, the Assembly expressed their regret at the existing difficulties, but stated it as their opinion that these difficulties were traceable to the Presbytery's own conduct in licensing and ordaining a number of persons without the qualifications required by our book of discipline, and *without explicit adoption of the Confession of Faith*. This conduct the Assembly decidedly disapproved, as being *highly irregular and unconstitutional*; leading to the most dangerous consequences, in introducing into our Church, as teachers, illiterate men, and men of any religious principles, however erroneous. As the complainants had not regularly appealed, the Assembly did not feel called upon to decide judicially on the case, and referred them to the Synod who were advised to review their proceedings. Finally, they were exhorted to return to a *strict and steady adherence to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church*, and to endeavor sincerely to promote the peace and best interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.†

At their next meeting, the Synod, according to the advice of the Assembly, reviewed their proceedings, and re-read the

* See the entire letter in the Assembly's Digest, p. 137.

† Digest, p. 139.

minutes of the Commission. After consuming three days in deliberation, they re-affirmed all their decisions, the demand for the surrender of the young men, and the suspension of Hodge and Rankin for resisting it. They denied that the irregularly ordained preachers had been suspended at all in a technical sense, or that the Commission had dealt with them without process.* Messrs. Blythe, Lyle, J. L. Wilson, and R. G. Wilson, were appointed a committee to answer the Assembly's letter. By some untoward accident this answer did not reach the Assembly till the year 1809, a delay deeply to be regretted in the posture of affairs at that time; but it was afterwards satisfactorily accounted for by the clerk.

The recusant members were committed to the Presbytery of Transylvania to be dealt with; Messrs. Hodge and Rankin to be restored, if the way should be clear. For the restoration of Mr. Hodge an urgent petition came up from the people of his charge, to which the Synod sent a firm but conciliatory reply.†

The Presbytery of Transylvania, in compliance with the direction of the Synod, invited the individuals in question, with as many of the young men as might choose to accompany them, to a friendly interview at Glasgow, Barren county. Mr. Hodge was the only person who attended. After several hours' familiar conference, and on his request for further time for deliberation, the Presbytery consented to state fully and distinctly, in a written form, the terms on which an accommodation might be effected. While they expressed their unfeigned solicitude on account of the late breach, they explicitly stated the necessity of acknowledgment and submission; and, as to the young men, a re-examination and unequivocal adoption of the Confession of Faith, which they denied contained the notion of Fatality. To these terms the Council would not submit.‡

But although the Synod were unrepresented in the Assembly of 1808, and neither letter nor records were sent up for their vindication, the Council were not so negligent on their part.

* The Synod were not perfectly unanimous in their views. On the first of these questions the vote stood 22 ayes to 4 nays; viz: R. G. Wilson, Welch, Wallace, A. McCalla. On the second, 16 ayes to 6 nays; viz: Blythe, R. G. Wilson, Welch, Wallace, McCalla, Robb. Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 140, 142.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 137-144.

‡ Min. Trans. By. vol. iii. pp. 213, 222. Smith, p. 632.

They earnestly petitioned the Assembly to interfere for their relief; which, however, the Assembly declined doing, referring them back to the Synod, as the only body competent to redress their grievances. Dr. McKnight, Dr. Hall, and Dr. J. P. Wilson, were appointed a committee to communicate this to the Council; and to write also to the Synod. The letter to the Synod was much more in the tenor of reprehension than that of the preceding year, but although read and disputed by paragraphs, and approved by a great majority, it was finally deemed expedient not to send it, as it might only produce exasperation of feeling. After the adjournment of the Assembly, Dr. Wilson addressed a letter to Mr. Hodge in his own name, expressive of strong sympathy, reflecting severely on the Synod; pronouncing the Commission unconstitutional; assuring him of the favorable sentiments of the Assembly; urging him to return and appeal regularly, although a disagreeable condescension; recommending the establishment of a grammar-school; and *gently* advising adherence to the standards.

At their meeting in October, 1808, (the same meeting at which Marshall, Stone, McNemar, Dunlavy, and Thomson, were deposed,) the Synod finding that their letter had been detained by accident, prepared another, substantially like the former but more condensed. It was very clear and sensible, and added the Recusants' aggravation of their offence by since neglecting to follow the advice of the Assembly. It was drafted by Messrs. Campbell, Stuart, and J. L. Wilson.*

This letter was attentively considered by the next General Assembly, (1809,) together with the minutes, and the detained letter of the previous year, therein recorded. Messrs. Lyle and Stuart were on the floor as commissioners from Kentucky, having come, at great expense and self-denial, to defend the Synod. Somewhat awed by the array of learned doctors and dignified divines, whose names they had been accustomed to pronounce in the backwoods with veneration, they were still more disconcerted by observing the unfriendly eye with which the whole Assembly, with Dr. J. P. Wilson at their head, appeared to regard them. The prospect was at first gloomy and discouraging; but after some examination of the affair, the reading of the

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 156, 161.

Synod's letters, and the explanations of the Commissioners, matters began to assume a more favorable aspect. Mr. Lyle, having overcome his awe, and yielding to his feelings as was his wont, wept freely as he portrayed in vivid colors the probable effects of the discomfiture and disgrace of the friends of truth and order. A deep impression was made. Every heart was touched with profound sympathy. Dr. Green, and Dr. Dwight, who chanced to be a delegate that year from the General Association of Connecticut, ably supported them, and the tide was completely turned. The proceedings of the Synod were sustained without a dissenting voice; and while the Assembly acknowledged their explanations to be able and fully satisfactory, they deemed it their duty to say in addition, that the Synod deserved the thanks of the Church for the firmness and zeal with which they had acted, in the trying circumstances in which they had been placed.* This decision was final. No attempt has ever been made to reverse it, and it must be considered the law of the Church, confirmed as it subsequently was by the Act of 1814. Its effects were highly beneficial in settling the question in the region where it was first agitated, and in strengthening the hands of the Synod in the midst of their discouragements and perplexities.†

On learning this decision, most of the Council were in favor of constituting immediately as a Presbytery; but on cooler reflection resolved to make one more effort for reconciliation. Messrs. Hodge and Thomas Donnell were accordingly sent as Commissioners to the Synod, but without discretionary powers to modify the terms they proposed. These terms were, a willingness to be examined, both young and old, on doctrinal tenets, by the Synod, Transylvania Presbytery, or a committee appointed for the purpose; *provided*, that they were received or rejected as a connected body, and that all the ordained ministers or licentiates retain their former authority derived from the Cumberland Presbytery. They also expressed their willingness to

* Digest, p. 140. Memoranda of Stuart's Conversations. Mr. Smith says, "Mr. Lyle, one of the most violent members of the Commission, was present at this Assembly, and represented to the members, that there was no prospect the members of C. Pby. ever would come regularly before them." P. 633.

† Brief Hist. p. 17.

adopt the Confession, if required, with the exception of the idea of fatality only.*

The Synod met in October, when Mr. Hodge appeared before them ; but they would not accede to the terms proposed. Mr. Hodge then, in his own name, prayed Synod to appoint a committee to examine the young men, dispensing with high literary qualifications in the case of such as might be found orthodox and apt to teach ; and next, to deal with him as an individual, and restore him. In consequence of last petition, together with one similar from Nelson and Samuel Hodge, as well as of a reference from the Presbytery, the Synod first appointed a Commission of seven ministers and three elders to consider the case ; but afterwards rescinded the appointment, and directed the Presbytery of Transylvania to meet at Greentown for the special purpose of restoring these individuals.†

The Presbytery met accordingly at Greentown,‡ on Wednesday, December 6th, 1809, when the three persons before named, Mr. William Hodge, his nephew, Samuel Hodge, and Thomas Nelson, were present. The first of these gentlemen, after having professed his sorrow for his past irregularities, and avowing his full and unequivocal subscription to the Confession of Faith, and his determination to submit to the authority and discipline of the Church, was restored to his former standing.§

Messrs. Nelson and Samuel Hodge, who had been irregularly licensed and ordained by the late Cumberland Presbytery, and had been prohibited from preaching in consequence by the Commission of Synod, now came forward, and professed their desire to submit themselves to the wisdom and discretion of the Presbytery. After a long and particular examination, the Presbytery were satisfied with regard to their doctrinal soundness, their aptness to teach, their adoption of the Confession, and their solemn promise to conform to the rules of the Church. Their former license and ordination were unanimously confirmed, and they were authorized to exercise all the functions of the sacred office. They were then recognized and welcomed as members of the Presbytery, and took their seats accordingly.||

* Smith, pp. 634, 681.

† Min. Syn., vol. i. pp. 172, 174.

‡ It is called Greensburg in the Brief Hist., p. 21.

§ Min. Trans. Pyb., vol. iii. p. 241.

|| Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 242,

The Council, who, on the rejection of their overtures, had determined by a large majority to organize as an independent Presbytery, found their plans all at once arrested, and their affairs nearly desperate. Nelson and the two Hodges had just left them to return to the bosom of the Church;* McGready had sent a letter of submission to the Presbytery, (which he followed up by full acknowledgments in person, October 3d, 1810;) Rankin had meantime apostatized to the Shakers, for which he had been deposed, March 24th, 1809; McAdow had been too great a valetudinarian for some time, to take part in public affairs; and McGee was in a pitiable state of indecision, believing that the truth lay somewhere between Calvinism and Arminianism, but unable to frame a system satisfactory to himself, and in consequence refraining from the exercise of all ministerial functions.† Ewing and King were the only ordained ministers left, and they were under the ban of the Synod. They were thus prevented from constituting a Presbytery, by the want of the requisite number of three ministers to form it. In this perplexity, they resolved themselves into a Committee of Union; and pledged themselves mutually to hold together, ministers, licentiates, elders, and representatives, and to keep the societies united, till the third Friday in March, of the following year, when they would re-assemble at the Ridge Meeting-House, and deliberate on the course it might seem best then to pursue.‡ No one was to be released from this bond, unless, in the interim, three ordained ministers belonging to the body should agree to constitute a Presbytery.§

In order to secure this important point, Ewing, King, and the licentiate McLean, paid a visit to McAdow, more than a month previous to the time appointed for the general meeting, and exerted all their energies to persuade him to unite in constituting a Presbytery. He at first hesitated to take so decisive a step, but at last, with a mind enfeebled by long illness, yielded to their importunity. After a night and a day spent in solitary prayer and deliberation, he met them with a cheerful countenance, in-

* Thomas Donnell, an elder, also withdrew at the same time. Smith, p. 636.

† He afterwards joined the new Cumberland Presbytery in the fall of 1810.

‡ Smith, pp. 636, 637.

§ Smith, Circular of the C. Pby., p. 632.

forming them that God had decided the doubtful question, and had clearly satisfied him that it was his duty to consent.*

Accordingly, on the fourth day of February, 1810, these three men, Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdow, constituted themselves into an independent Presbytery, under the name and style of Cumberland Presbytery. Their first act was to ordain Ephraim McLean, which made their number four. They also adopted a brief Constitution, in which they justified their action, by alleging that they had waited in vain for a redress of grievances for more than four years. They recognized the Confession and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church as their Standards, and all who could receive them without exception were to be at liberty to do so; but provision was made for such as believed the idea of fatality to be couched under the doctrine of predestination, and they were to be permitted to except thereto. Examinations were to be required of all candidates, on English grammar, geography, astronomy, natural and moral philosophy, Church history, experimental religion and theology.†

In March, 1810, as agreed on, the Council re-assembled. There were present, the four members of the new Presbytery, six licentiates, and seven candidates, seventeen in all; besides elders and representatives from the churches.‡ They resolved that if a successful negotiation could not be effected with the Synod, they would all enter the new organization on the fourth Tuesday in October ensuing.§

In April following, the Presbytery of Transylvania declared Mr. McAdow suspended for his contumacious and schismatical conduct. Being made aware of Mr. McGee's distressed state of mind, they addressed him an affectionate letter, inviting him to a friendly conference at their next session. Receiving no reply, they repeated the invitation in October; but all their well-meant endeavors were fruitless, for in the fall he joined the independent body. The consequence was that he was also suspended shortly after.||

This was done by the Presbytery of Muhlenburg; for the Synod this year divided Transylvania Presbytery, (which com-

* Smith, p. 639.

† Smith, pp. 642, 643.

‡ Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. pp. 250, 266.

† Smith, p. 640.

§ Smith, Circular, p. 681.

Smith, p. 643. Brief Hist. p. 23.

plained of its extensive boundaries, being 280 miles on the north, and 200 miles from east to west,) into three, viz: *West Tennessee*, including Messrs. James W. Stephenson, Duncan Brown, Samuel Donnell, and Samuel Hodge; *Muhlenburg*, including Messrs. Templin, McGready, Balch, Craighead, William Hodge, John Howe, William McGee, Dicky, and Nelson; *Transylvania*, including all that tract of country lying between the last-mentioned Presbytery and the Kentucky river. At the same time Washington Presbytery was also divided into two, *Washington* and *Miami*.* The number of the Presbyteries within the bounds of the Synod of Kentucky now amounted to six.

The new Presbytery of Cumberland, deeming further negotiation with the Synod either unnecessary or hopeless, (for there is no record of any such attempt,) were now fairly under way: and, as one of their first measures, published a Circular Letter to all the churches within their bounds, professing to furnish a correct statement of the origin and history of the separation.†

There was however another effort made by the West Tennessee Presbytery in October, 1811, when delegates from each body met to confer about a re-union. The effort proved abortive. The Presbytery of West Tennessee then addressed a Pastoral Letter to their churches, warning them of the heterodoxy and irregular orders of the Cumberland Presbytery; to which Finis Ewing published a reply, which was regarded by his own party as an able composition. Intercommunion now ceased between Cumberland Presbyterians and those who adhered to the General Assembly.‡

Free at last, and untrammelled by disciplinary restrictions, the progress of the new Presbytery was rapid. In three years from its callow state, after narrowly escaping being strangled in its previous birth-throes, it grew into a Synod, with three Presbyteries and sixty congregations under its wings. The Presbyteries were called Cumberland, Logan, and Elk; but the name of Nashville was soon substituted for the first. The Synod held its first meeting, October 5th, 1813; when they presented to the world a summary of their tenets. It was designed

* Min. Syn., vol. i. pp. 187-189.

† This Circular may be seen at length in Smith, Appendix, p. 677.

‡ Smith, p. 644.

for publication in Woodward's edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary; and as in this account there are several misrepresentations, it may not be amiss to notice them.*

Ewing and King are styled "*regularly* ordained ministers of the Presbyterian Church;" notwithstanding the Commission had silenced them, and the prohibition had received the sanction successively of the Synod and the General Assembly, by which latter court their ordination was pronounced "*highly irregular* and unconstitutional." They indeed, did not scruple to call this interdict an "unconstitutional act," and not only as such voidable, but absolutely null and void, from a technical oversight; having been prohibited from preaching by virtue of any authority derived from *Cumberland Presbytery*, whereas their authority was derived from *Transylvania*, just prior to the erection of Cumberland. This was manifestly a mere inadvertence, as has been already fully explained. How far such an inadvertence might invalidate or vitiate the entire act, involves a legal quibble, which we shall not undertake to discuss at present. Both Bush's edition of Buck, and Brown's Religious Encyclopedia, perpetuate the error of giving undue prominence to the point of classical learning, overlooking the more important and real difficulty of *unsoundness in doctrine*.

Another error proper to be noticed is, that the Commission are said to have tabled many charges, reducible to two heads, the first of which was licensing without examination on the languages. This is not strictly correct; as the records show, and as is attested by the explicit denial of living members of that court.† This was far from being regarded as the most heinous offence. The Synod, in their apology to the Assembly, stated that they had hoped to find some, out of so many, who might be qualified to be useful; and the Presbytery of Transylvania subsequently received, with their approbation, two of those young men. It was not the want of classical learning, but *unsoundness in doctrine*, the adoption of the Confession with *reservations*, (charge 2d, as above alluded to,) that created the grand difficulty; and the removal of this hindrance would have wonder-

* Smith, p. 645. Woodward's Buck, fifth ed. p. 419. The same erroneous statements are made in the "Circular," Smith, p. 677.

† Brief Hist., p. 26.

fully facilitated the accommodation of the other. The able historian of the Cumberland Presbyterians himself admits this in several places.*

The year following, (1814,) the Cumberland Synod ventured to take a bolder step, and in their own words, "to model, to expunge, and to add to, the Confession of the Presbyterian Church." Calvinism is a complete and compact system, and, as in a well-constructed arch, every separate doctrine is a keystone, which cannot be abstracted without endangering the whole: As from the foot we may infer the proportions of the statue, or reproduce a Saurian from its fossil fragments, so each single doctrine of the Calvinistic scheme naturally and necessarily involves the adoption of all the rest. Forgetful or unconscious of this truth, they endeavored, in the altered edition of the Confession and Catechisms,† to steer a middle course between Calvinism and Arminianism, (if a middle course there can be;) rejecting the doctrines of eternal reprobation, limited atonement, and special grace, and maintaining that the Spirit of God operates on the world, or co-extensively with the atonement, so as to leave all men inexcusable.‡

* "Moreover, it was the adherence of the young men to these views, that produced the final separation of the two parties; for all the young men afterwards proposed to the Transylvania Presbytery, that they, as a body, would submit to a re-examination, with the understanding that they should be indulged in their conscientious scruples on this subject." Smith, p. 611. "As the literary attainments of Mr. Hodge were inferior to those of most of the young men licensed or ordained by Cumberl. Presby., we are warranted in the conclusion, that the only very serious difficulty existing between the two bodies consisted in the rejection, by the members of the Council, of what they deemed fatality; and, as the others argued that fatality was not taught in the Confession of Faith, we think these brethren might have been indulged in their conscientious scruples on that subject." p. 637.

† Some, with the author of the "Brief History, might prefer to call it a mutilation. Of the character of these changes a specimen is presented from the Shorter Catechism. Q. 7. "What are the decrees of God? A. The decrees of God are his purpose, whereby, according to the council of his own will, he hath foreordained to bring to pass what shall be for his own glory. Sin not being for God's glory, therefore he hath not decreed it." Q. 20. "Did God leave all mankind to perish in the estate of sin and misery? A. No. God, of his mere good pleasure and love did provide salvation for all mankind, by giving his Son to make atonement for them, that he who believeth should not perish but have eternal life." Q. 31. For the phrase, "What is effectual calling?" is substituted, "What is the work of the Spirit?" Q. 82. For the words, "Is any man able perfectly to keep the commandments of God?" are substituted these, "Is any man able perfectly to keep the moral law?" A. No." Bishop's Rice, p. 127. Dr. Baird says that they maintain the doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints, and on other points than those specified, are essentially Calvinistic. Religion in America, p. 253.

‡ Religious Encycl. Buck, art. Cumb. Presb.

In the same year final action was taken by the General Assembly upon the proper treatment of the Cumberland Presbyterians, the case having come up by reference; when it was decided, that as those persons were under censure at the time of their constituting as a Presbytery; as they had neglected to take the regular steps for its removal;* as they had erected themselves into a Judicatory contrary to the rules of our discipline; and as the grounds of their separation were that we would not relax our discipline and surrender important doctrines; therefore the persons aforesaid were to be viewed as having derived no authority from the Presbyterian Church to exercise discipline, or administer the ordinances of the Church, and they could not be treated with as a body, but only as individuals.†

In 1825, the matter was again considered by the Assembly; when it was decided that their ministrations "are to be viewed in the same light with those of other denominations, not connected with our body. This decision is grounded on the opinion, that the act of the Assembly of 1814 precluded the propriety of **DEPOSITION**, or any other process in the case."

The Synod of Kentucky, although they were in a highly prosperous condition, being enabled to report (1815) an increasing thirst for religious instruction, the extensive distribution of Bibles and tracts with good results, the organization of many new churches, and the erection of three new Presbyteries,‡ yet began to feel the necessity of taking some measures for their own vindication from the misrepresentations that were industriously circulated in regard to them: as well as to put on their

* Dr. Baird, in his admirable work, *Religion in America*, p. 253, has been betrayed into an error in stating that the case had been brought by appeal before the Assembly. Though there was a correspondence opened on the part of the malcontents as individuals, no appeal was ever regularly taken. On the contrary, any such intention was openly disavowed, as has been already narrated.

† *Digest*, p. 157.

‡ These were the Presbytery of Louisville, erected out of Transylvania, embracing Messrs. Shannon, Cameron, Vance, and Scott; the Presbytery of Mississippi, erected out of West Tennessee, embracing Messrs. Bullin, Montgomery, Rickhow, and Smilie; and the Presbytery of Shiloh, erected out of West Tennessee and Muhlenburg, embracing Messrs. William and Samuel Hodge, Donnell, Shaw, Newton, Gillespie, and Morrison. *Min. Syn.* vol. ii. pp. 89, 90. The Synod of Ohio had been erected the preceding year, (1814,) composed of the Presbyteries of Lancaster, Washington, and Miami. *Digest*, p. 42. And in 1817, the Synod of Tennessee was erected, composed of the Presbyteries of Union, Shiloh, West Tennessee, and Mississippi. *Digest*, p. 44.

guard such of their members as might be in danger of being beguiled into communion with the Cumberland Presbyterians, through motives of convenience, or the supposed affinity of the respective connections and their standards. In 1815 they directed their stated clerk to prepare and publish five hundred copies of extracts of all the records relating to the schism;* and in 1823, a pamphlet made its appearance, by their order, purporting to contain "A Brief History" of their proceedings in reference to the Cumberland Presbyterians, correcting erroneous impressions, and ably vindicating the constitutionality and expediency of the course they had pursued.† In this publication the Synod very distinctly disowned them as a legitimate branch of the Presbyterian Church.‡

Although, like the New Side party of the previous century, the Cumberland Presbyterians seemed at first to lay greater stress on piety and zeal in the ministry than on orthodoxy and learning, time and experience wrought a salutary change in their policy; and, as a happy consequence, we find the one like the other, by a singular coincidence of names fostering their *Princeton*. It was in 1827§ that the scheme went into operation. On March 1st, of that year, a chartered Manual Labor institution was opened at Princeton, Caldwell county, Kentucky,

* Min. Syn., vol. ii., 94.

† "A Brief History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Proceedings of the Synod of Kentucky, relative to the late Cumberland Presbytery; in which is brought to view a brief account of the origin and present standing of the people usually denominated Cumberland Presbyterians; as taken from official documents and facts in possession of Synod. Published by order of Synod, at their session, held in Harrodsburgh, October, 1822. Lexington, Kentucky. Printed by Thomas T. Skillman, 1823." pp. 29. This pamphlet was from the pen of Dr. Thomas Cleland. It contains much valuable information and shrewd reasoning; but is strikingly deficient in that lucid order which is desirable in connected accounts of this kind; in which respect it presents an unfavorable contrast with the clear and perspicuous, though prejudiced, narrative of Mr. Smith.

‡ The position occupied by the Synod at this period may be learned from the following extract. "It is the opinion of some that there is good and legitimate ordination among those of the self-made Cumberland Presbytery; or as now styled, Synod. Without saying anything more on this point than we have said, we would state that, according to their documents and acknowledgments, they cannot be recognized as any branch or section of the Presbyterian Church, because they have set aside some of the important doctrines and regulations which belong to legitimate ordination in said Church. If they have legitimately ordained ministers among them, they have them not according to Presbyterian rules, and therefore we are certainly correct in disowning them." Brief Hist. p. 25, n.

§ 1825, says the *Amer. Almanac*, p. 130.

under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Cossit, by the title of the Cumberland Presbyterian College, with a Theological Department annexed. Attached to it was a snug farm of three hundred acres; by laboring on which two or three hours every day, it was supposed that the students could earn their board and tuition. The experiment, like the Manual Labor Schools generally, popular as they once were, has been a failure; proving more expensive and less advantageous than was expected.* Finis Ewing, true to his early prejudices, was not slow to express his apprehensions that the possession of a college would awaken a spirit of pride and self-confidence, and tempt them to lean too much on the arm of flesh.† A similar institution has recently been founded in Ohio.

Two years more, making nineteen since the organization of the first Presbytery, beheld, in the same village, the convening of a General Assembly. This body met, for the first time, May, 1829, and comprised four Synods, Missouri, Green river, Franklin, and Cumberland; so much had the original seed expanded.‡

In the year 1817, died the Rev. JAMES MCGREADY, whose name was intimately associated with the early history of the Cumberland Presbyterians; and who is still venerated by them as one in sentiment, and the Patriarch of their order.§

Mr. McGready's personal appearance has already been described. The vehemence of his manner and the terror of his denunciations, designated him not as a Son of Consolation, but a Son of Thunder. He was born on the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania, in 1763, and converted at a sacramental meeting, in 1786, when he was twenty-three years of age. He soon after directed his attention to the ministry; and in 1792 was ordained as pastor of a congregation in North Carolina. Here he made himself extremely unpopular by his unsparing invectives against horse-racing, gambling, and other vices; and one night, "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," broke into his meeting-house, tore down the benches, and burned the pulpit. At the same time a threatening letter was addressed him written in blood. Nothing daunted, the brave man, on the very next

* Smith, p. 649-653. Of late years it has been so reduced as to meditate a transfer to the protecting care of some other and more powerful patrons; the Episcopal bishop of Kentucky was at one time engaged in negotiations for its control, but for some cause they were not consummated.

† Smith, p. 663.

‡ Smith, p. 653.

§ Smith, p. 615.

Sunday, preached as usual, and gave out to be sung the 76th Psalm, part of which was very appropriate, "How are the seats of worship broke!" &c. The clamor against him, however, rose to such a height, that he felt himself under the necessity of exchanging his charge for that of Gasper, Muddy, and Red river congregations, in the south-western part of Kentucky. He had not been there very long before his searching preaching produced a powerful effect upon a people who were almost totally unacquainted with the nature of vital piety and experimental religion. The revival of 1800 commenced under his exertions, and soon found in him an unflinching advocate. In 1801, he delivered publicly "A Vindication of the Exercises in the Revival." Although he headed the revival party in the old Cumberland Presbytery, yet, when he found that their measures would precipitate a schism, and draw down the censures of the superior judicatories, he withdrew from them for a time, and at length made suitable acknowledgments, and was restored to his former standing in the old body.

In the year 1807 he was accused of fraudulent conduct, in regard to a certain piece of property in Russellville, but upon investigation nothing was found to his discredit.* A more serious difficulty occurred in 1810, when his character fell under a dark cloud. Riding on a cold day, with an empty stomach, and but recently recovered from a bilious fever, he was induced by a couple of wicked men in company to drink more liquor than he was able to bear, and became shamefully intoxicated. He spent some weeks in a state of anguish almost comparable to the torments of the damned, but at last had his peace of mind restored; upon which he drew up a written covenant, binding himself never to taste spirituous liquors again, to prepare for the press an earnest warning against their use, to observe, every month, the day of his fall as a day of fasting and humiliation to pray thrice a

* A house and lot had been given by Israel McGready to his favorite niece, James' third daughter, and had been sold by James, in trust for her, to Joseph Ficklin, Esq., in 1806. The creditors of Israel called it a fraudulent transaction. Messrs. Robertson, Cleland and Rice investigated the matter, as a Committee of Transylvania Presbytery. The deposition of Mr. Ficklin is recorded; and among other testimony, that of Ninian Edwards, afterwards Governor of Illinois, giving Mr. McGready the most exalted character. The result was that, on the Report of the Committee, the Presbytery fully acquitted him, and censured the late Cumberland Presbytery, as moved by ill-feeling, to make "a false, iniquitous and malicious representation." *Min. Trans. Pby.*, vol. iii. pp. 137-181.

day in secret, and to maintain a stricter watch over himself, and a closer walk with God. This was a deplorable occurrence in the career of a man who had for twenty-four years sustained an irreproachable character as a professor of religion, and for eighteen years of that time as a zealous minister of the Gospel; but we cannot doubt the depth or sincerity of his repentance. He published shortly after the Admonition, and in it gave an account of his own mishap, speaking in the third person. After this occurrence, Mr. McGready's influence and unction in the pulpit were never the same that they had been before. He died in Henderson county, whither he had removed, in 1817, at the age of fifty-four. After his decease the bulk of his congregation joined the Cumberland Presbyterians.*

In 1837, the Rev. James Smith, editor of the "Cumberland Presbyterian," and author of the History of the sect, published Mr. McGready's "Posthumous Works," two volumes in one, pp. 511, 8vo., containing forty-two sermons, a narrative of the revival, and a discourse on intemperance. Many of the sermons are incomplete, from his habit of delivering the application extempore. His applications were considered interesting and powerful. His style was unpolished, but strong and perspicuous. He sometimes indulged in bold figures, and a fastidious taste would condemn his exhortations as rant.†

* Smith, p. 615.

† As Mr. McGready acted so prominent a part, and his preaching produced such striking effects in the Revival of 1800, it may not be amiss to subjoin a specimen of his style, taken from Sermon XIV. which has been several times alluded to by his biographer. The text is Ps. xiv. 1: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." It is entitled, "The Character, History and End of the Fool." The extract is taken from the second part, in which is described the end of the fool; and the reader must bear in mind the terrible looks, tones and gestures of the preacher:

"And, suffice it to say, he died accursed of God, when his soul was separated from his body, and the black, flaming vultures of hell began to encircle him on every side; his conscience awoke from its long sleep, and roared like ten thousand peals of thunder. Then all the horrid crimes of his past life stared him in his face, in all their glowing colors; then the remembrance of misimproved sermons and sacramental occasions flashed like streams of forked lightning through his tortured soul; then the reflection that he had slighted the mercy and blood of the Son of God—that he had despised and rejected him—was like a poisoned arrow piercing his heart. When the fiends of hell dragged him into the infernal gulf, he roared and screamed and yelled like a devil! When, while Indians, Pagans and Mahometans stood amazed and upbraided him, falling, like Lucifer, from the meridian blaze of the Gospel and the threshold of heaven, sinking into the liquid, boiling waves of hell, and accursed sinners of Tyre and Sidon, and

His orthodoxy is apparent from his clear acknowledgments and vindication of the doctrines of Imputation, the Federal Headship of Christ, Election, the Agency of the Spirit in the New Birth, and the Impotency of Moral Suasion. In his defence of Election he says: "These things I read in my Bible, and I have no authority to take them out. Some people tell us this doctrine is from hell; if so, the Bible is from hell, for it is full of it."*

The Rev. WILLIAM HODGE was a native of North Carolina, and was converted when somewhat advanced in life. He was poor, and had a wife and children, but, notwithstanding, he went thirty miles to attend Dr. Caldwell's school, in the Hawfield congregation, Guilford county; a step which exposed him to much censure. He was licensed to preach in 1790, and soon after was called to succeed Mr. Debo, at Hawfield, where a revival followed his labors. In the spring of 1800, he was called to succeed Mr. McGee, at Shiloh, in the Cumberland settlements, Sumner county, Tennessee. Here his preaching produced a stir, and two

Sodom and Gomorrah, sprang to the right and left, and made way for him to pass them and fall lower down, even to the deepest cavern in the flaming abyss—here his conscience, like a never-dying worm, stings him, and forever gnaws his soul; and the slighted blood of the Son of God communicates ten thousand hells in one! Now, through the blazing flames of hell, he sees that heaven he has lost—that exceeding great and eternal weight of glory he has sold for the devil's pottage! In those pure regions he sees his father or mother, his sisters or brothers, and those persons who sat under the same means of grace with him, and whom he derided as fools, fanatics and hypocrites. They are far beyond the impassable gulf; they shine brighter than the sun when he shineth in his strength, and walk the golden streets of the new Jerusalem; but he is lost, and damned forever!

"The last thing we shall mention in the history of the fool is, when he lifted up his eyes in hell he found a dictionary explaining the meaning of all the profane language he used during his life. Now he perfectly understands the meaning of those words he was in the habit of using in this world, without ever reflecting on their signification. Such expressions as the following were very common with the fool in this life: 'I'll be damned; God damn his soul, if it was not so and so.' Now the fool perfectly understands the meaning of these terms, in all their horrid emphasis—for God has heard, and answered, his prayer: he has damned his soul in hell! He could now tell you that the dreadful meaning of these words frightened the stoutest devils, and fills all the flaming vaults of hell with the most hideous shrieks and yells! In this life, when the fool was offended at any one, his common phrase was, such a one is a damned fool. Now he perfectly understands the meaning of the phrase. When he surveys his life, and reflects on the many offers of salvation he refused; the manner in which he mispent his precious time, and misimproved all the means of grace; he is constrained to confess that he is, emphatically, a fool—a damned fool—for he is damned in hell forever and ever!"—Posth. Works, p. 149.

* Sermon XXIII. Posth. Works, p. 238.

parties sprang up—Revival and Anti-Revival. The latter took possession of the church, and closed the doors against him. The matter was brought before the Presbytery, who decided in his favor. The other party then drew off, and called the Rev. Thos. B. Craighead to be their pastor. Mr. Hodge was only second to Mr. McGready in promoting the Revival of 1800, though his character was completely his reverse, being a son of consolation. Mr. Hodge finally returned to the "Old Presbyterians," as they are generally styled by way of distinction. Neither he nor Mr. McGready dreamed of a final separation, and were startled to find to what hazard they had exposed themselves. In consequence of difficulties at Shiloh, he resigned the charge in 1818, and died a year or two afterward.*

The Rev. WILLIAM MCGEE was born in Randolph county, North Carolina, and was converted in a revival under Mr. McGready's preaching. He was licensed to preach in 1792, and took charge of Shiloh, in Tennessee, two years afterward. He was a very zealous and animated preacher, and wielded the curses of Sinai with great power. He would sometimes exhort after sermon, standing on the floor, or sitting or lying in the dust, his eyes streaming, and his heart so full, that he could only ejaculate, "Jesus! Jesus!" He insisted on every one's giving a satisfactory account of his religious exercises, and where and when he was converted. His elders being of different views from himself, he resigned, and took charge of Beech and Ridge societies. In the Revival of 1800 he bore a leading part. When the difficulties arose, he was much perplexed to reconcile Calvinism and Arminianism, and was for a time in great distress of mind to know with whom he should cast in his lot; but at last, having settled his theological system to his satisfaction, joined the new Cumberland Presbytery. He died in 1814.

* Smith, pp. 667, 668.

CHAPTER X.

CRAIGHEAD AND PELAGIANISM.

DURING the progress of the schism of the Cumberland Presbyterians, there was another troublesome case which attracted considerable attention, though happily it was not attended by as extensive or as disastrous consequences. This was the trial of the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead for Pelagianism.

Mr. Craighead came legitimately by both his latitudinarian tenets and his opinionated disposition, being the son of Alexander Craighead, a leading member of the New Side, suspended by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1741, for contumaciously declining their jurisdiction.* Thomas was born at Sugar Creek, in North Carolina, where his father had organized a congregation in 1757,† and where, in 1766, he died. He graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1775; was ordained in 1780 by the Presbytery of Orange; and preached for some time to his father's late congregation. Shortly after, he married the daughter of the Rev. John Brown, of Virginia, and turned his steps to Kentucky.‡

Upon the division of the congregation of Shiloh, in Sumner county, Tennessee, Mr. Craighead was invited to preach to the portion that separated. Shiloh had been under the care of the Rev. William Hodge, whose fiery proceedings had rent the people into two factions, Revival, and Anti-Revival or Orthodox; the former sustaining their pastor, the latter opposing him with such virulence as to close the church doors against him. Being

* Records of the Presb. Church, pp. 154, 157.

† MS. Hist. of Sugar Creek Church.

‡ Presb. vol. xv. p. 37.

censured for their conduct by the Presbytery, this last party withdrew, and formed a distinct society, which they called "the Orderly part of Shiloh congregation," and called Mr. Craighead to be their minister.* It was not long, however, before his new situation became very unpleasant, his elders and most of the people deserting him, few attending his ministrations, and he himself being treated with neglect, partly on account of his being suspected of holding Pelagian tenets, and partly on account of his opposition to the popular extravagances of the times.† Rumors of his erroneous sentiments having reached the ears of the Synod, the Commission that met at Gasper river in 1805, were charged to investigate the correctness of the report.

Accordingly, after disposing of the Cumberland difficulties, on the 10th day of December, 1805, the Commission proceeded to examine Mr. Craighead. Thirty-one questions were submitted to him in writing, touching Predestination, Foreknowledge, Good Works, the Perseverance of the Saints, the co-operation of the Word and Spirit, and the Special Influences of the Holy Ghost. His answers were decided to be agreeable to the Confession of Faith, a few excepted, that were deemed ambiguous and unsatisfactory.‡ In this examination, Mr. Craighead unequivocally declared his belief that there was a supernatural operation; that the Spirit did not operate independently of, but by and with the Word; that the Word was inefficacious without the Spirit; that Faith was a grace, produced by the power of God upon the mind; that God could operate on the mind of the creature without the Word; and that God did not work equally on all who heard the Word.§

The matter rested here until the meeting of Synod at Lexington the year following, (Oct. 27, 1806,) when Mr. Craighead preached a sermon which produced a great excitement, as contradictory to the doctrines of the Church, and to his own recorded answers to the Commission. In this discourse he affirmed

* Smith, p. 667.

† Lyle's Narr p. 30.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 98. "His answers were agreeable to the Confession, except a few expressed ambiguously, &c., with which the Commission were not entirely satisfied. Observation and experience have taught me not to be fond of allowing men in such examinations, to be their own witnesses." Lyle's Tour, p. 64.

§ Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

that there had been two distinct operations of the Spirit in the time of the Apostles: one miraculous, the other illuminating. The first was soon withdrawn, and the second was superseded, or rendered unnecessary, by the written word upon the completion of the canon. This WORD possessed paramount authority, for the Spirits were to be tried by it. He was understood to reject any influence, operation, or energy of the Spirit in or upon the mind, to dispose it to good. The action of the Word is the only operative principle, and has all the force that can be or is employed. He alleged that the soul is passive, in the same sense that the eye is passive to the rays of light; and as nothing is necessary but the opening of the eye to admit light, so nothing is necessary but the attention of the mind to the Word; by which attention the mind becomes as susceptible of regeneration and faith, as the eye is susceptible of the images of objects when the light is let in upon it.*

This sermon was promptly brought before the notice of the Synod the next day, through the Committee of Bills and Overtures,† and a discussion ensued thereon. Mr. Craighead was permitted to offer explanations; notwithstanding which, however, it was the opinion of the Synod that he had expressed sentiments in his sermon inconsistent with the doctrine of the Confession upon the subject of Divine influence.‡

Mr. Craighead was permitted to enter an Explanation on the minutes; but the Explanation failing to be entirely satisfactory, the Synod, after expressing their regret for the necessity, adopted the following resolution, viz: "That the Rev. Thos. B. Craighead be entreated, and he is hereby earnestly entreated, to be cautious in future, as to the matter of his sermons, and careful not to offend against the doctrines of the Confession of Faith and the feelings of his Christian brethren; and that the Moderator be directed to read this minute to Mr. Craighead."

This admonition was wholly fruitless, indeed its leniency was no doubt misconstrued into weakness, for about three years afterward, at the request of certain citizens of Lexington,§ and puffed

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 127-130.

† Of this Committee, strange to say, Mr. Craighead happened to be Chairman; an honor which marks his standing in the body. Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 122.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 123.

§ Dedication to the Sermon.

up by his reputation for eloquence, Mr. Craighead published his *Sermon on Regeneration*, with an insulting *Address to the Synod*, and an *Appendix*. The *Sermon* filled 54 pages octavo. It was not printed as delivered, having been originally extemporaneous, and being now made designedly less devotional and more argumentative.* The text was John iii. 3: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" but almost any other motto might have served as well.

The preacher pompously announced his purpose to open a treaty in the name of God Almighty, to settle the preliminaries and state the terms. There was not the slightest recognition of the Calvinistic doctrine, that the Covenant was made with Christ for his people as a public person, instead of mankind individually; but the contrary was plainly inferrible.

To furnish an abstract of a discourse of such length, every page of which teemed with objectionable matter, and the style of which was as amplified and obscure as its method was intricate and confused, will not be expected. Suffice it to say, that the author took continual occasion to rail at every distinctive tenet of Calvinism, without any attempt at concealment other than was caused by his own vague and misty language. He sneered, as bitterly as any infidel could do, at the doctrines of Election,† Special Grace,‡ and the immediate influence of the Spirit, which he called "a Spirit without credentials."§ He took the ground, (which Warburton had taken before him,||) that we are in a different situation from the apostles and early disciples. They enjoyed the immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost, in the absence of written records; but since the completion of the Canon of Scripture, that guidance has been withdrawn, and we are left solely to the written Word. The Spirit in the Word is the sole cause of faith and sanctification. There can be no intellectual effects produced on the mind except by thoughts or ideas expressed in words. Any other opinion he pronounced enthusiastic. All moral attraction consists in motives.¶

Believing is an intellectual, not a moral act; it is irresistibly dependent on testimony, and never independent or voluntary. Faith is necessarily a mediate gift; the testimony, not the dispo-

* Address, p. 55.

† Ibid. pp. 24, 26.

|| Doctrine of Grace, p. 96.

† Sermon, pp. 27, 46.

§ Sermon, pp. 35, 37.

¶ Sermon, pp. 3, 5, 9, 11, 27.

sition to believe, being supplied from heaven. A *divine* faith is believing on the testimony of *God*. A man can no more resist the force of the divine truth of God, if he suffers it to enter his intellectual eye, than he can prevent his natural eye from seeing, when natural light enters into it. There is no new sense, perception, disposition or taste, serving as the root of holiness; and to expect it, would be as absurd as a law requiring us to taste sweetness in honey; the mind being always naturally influenced by the greatest good.*

He heaped no less ridicule on the idea of praying for faith. The examples of such prayers in Scripture were instances of the faith of miracles; and our Lord treated them as words without meaning. Christ's manner of preaching differed from the modern current cant: "Pray to God to give you faith to believe. Pray, pray, strive, agonize, wait on, till Christ comes and delivers you."†

The above may serve as a meagre specimen of the erroneous sentiments contained in Mr. Craighead's sermon. In the Appendix, he went into what he meant for a profound disquisition on the vexed question of Necessity, and canvassed at length the positions of President Edwards in his treatise on the *Will*, and Dr. Miller in his *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*. These views he attempted to caricature, by putting a prayer in the mouth of a Necessitarian, which might have formed a suitable counterpart to that blasphemous effusion of Burns, entitled *Holy Willie's Prayer*.‡

This publication Mr. Craighead, no doubt, supposed would produce no less consternation among the Synod than a bomb falling in the midst of an enemy's camp; but the effect was very limited. Some of his admirers, indeed, ill-indoctrinated, and captivated by his sophistries, loudly extolled it as the mirror of truth, and a pattern of argumentative eloquence. By the New Lights, and other enemies of evangelical truth, its appearance was hailed with exultation, as a new ally. These persons affected to ridicule the Synod as men of small intellects, destitute of talents, too imbecile to dare to take an attitude of opposition, twinkling tapers, eclipsed by so great a luminary.§

* Sermon, pp. 21, 22, 26, 16.

† Ibid. pp. 15, 19, 20, 24.

‡ Appendix, p. 86.

§ Campbell's Lett. to Craighead, Pref. p. iii.

Under these circumstances, Dr. John P. Campbell felt it his duty to come forward in vindication of the Synod and the Standards of the Church. This he did in a series of five Letters to Mr. Craighead, written in the spring of 1810.* In the Introduction, Dr. Campbell paid a handsome tribute to Mr. Craighead's uncommon talents as an extemporaneous orator, while with a delicate vein of satire he touched on his fondness for metaphysical disquisitions, for which he had neither the necessary coolness, patience, nor compactness of thought. "You are no Locke," said he; "you are no Edwards; you are no Butler; but you are capable of being what I should covet a thousand times more, a Massillon or a Bridaine. No, sir, you have too much fire, too much velocity, too much impatience, for metaphysics. You can manage a metaphor infinitely better than a syllogism; you can shape a flight on fancy's burnished wing with more ease than scale the proud heights of speculative philosophy. It is the sublime of eloquence, and not the elevation of metaphysical theology, to which you ought to aspire. Oh! what might you not be under such circumstances as I could wish."†

Dr. Campbell then proceeded to expose Mr. Craighead's erroneous views on the great subjects of the true root of the enmity of the human heart to God; the nature of regeneration, or the new birth; saving faith; the immediate agency of the Spirit on the heart, as well as through the Word; the doctrine of Necessity and Liberty; man's responsibility; and his inability in an unregenerate state. On all these points, he clearly set forth the doctrinal views of the Synod, by a copious reference to the Scriptures and the standard writers of the Reformation; and closed with presenting five fatal objections to the new scheme of religion. These were, that it was throughout selfish; that it subverted the great doctrine of the ministration of the Holy Spirit; that it robbed God of his glory by ascribing too much to human agency; that it rendered prayer useless, the decrees and prophecies doubtful, and capable of frustration; and that it

* "Several Letters addressed to the Rev. T. B. Craighead, in answer to a pamphlet published by him, containing a Sermon on Regeneration, an Address to the Synod of Kentucky, and an Appendix. By John P. Campbell. Lexington, Ky. Printed by Thomas Smith, for the Author, 1810." pp. 194, 8vo.

† Letter to Craighead, p. 8.

cut off the greater part of Christ's work, as a risen, reigning, and controlling Mediator.

This work, written as it was with a clear and vigorous logic, and in an attractive style, had a prodigious effect. Its currency was rapid, and its popularity extensive. Beneath the ponderous blow Mr. Craighead was for a while completely stunned; he reeled and staggered; and when at length he recovered his faculties, he dealt his strokes with the blind fury of a madman. It was not till nearly a year had elapsed that he rallied himself sufficiently to reply, in an inconsiderable pamphlet.* In ten letters to Dr. Campbell, he ran over his former ground, but with still more incoherence, repetition and obscurity. In short, it was at once a feeble and a bitter production, totally destitute of dignity, system, ability, or literary merit. As if forced to abandon his former positions as untenable, he vented his mortification in spiteful tirades against Calvinism, and the disingenuousness of its advocate.

This brought Dr. Campbell promptly into the field again. He published a review of Mr. Craighead's letters, under the title of "The Pelagian Detected;"† which, though forcible and impressive, bore evident marks of haste. He still further strengthened his cause by an array of authorities; exposed the palpable misquotations and misrepresentations of his antagonist; and completely exploded any remaining pretension Mr. Craighead might set up as the true interpreter of the Westminster Confession.

Mr. Craighead had attempted to throw odium upon orthodox Presbyterians, by insinuating that their tenets of "immediate agency and sensible feelings of the mighty power of God in the soul," were "near akin" to Shakerism, and had contributed to foster it.‡ Dr. Campbell undertook to show that, so far from this being the case, not only did the Shakers disclaim "immediate agency," but that there was a perfect agreement between their views and Mr. Craighead's on Divine sovereignty, the Word,

* "Letters to the Rev. J. P. Campbell, occasioned by his Letters to the Author, containing some original disquisitions, philosophical, moral and religious. By T. B. Craighead, A.B., V.D.M. Nashville, Tennessee. Printed by Thomas Grayson Bradford, Market-street, May, 1811." pp. 88, 12mo.

† "The Pelagian Detected; or, a Review of Mr. Craighead's Letters; addressed to the Public and the Author. By John P. Campbell. Lexington, Thomas T. Skillman, 1811." pp. 80, 8vo.

‡ Craighead's Letters, p. 42.

Spiritual influence, faith, and regeneration; as was made distinctly obvious by a comparison in parallel columns.

But not content with this, Dr. Campbell advanced a yet graver charge, at which he had darkly hinted before, but of which he now exhibited the proofs: that New Lightism and Shakerism were clearly traceable to the paternity of Mr. Craighead. It was made to appear that Barton W. Stone had visited him in 1799 or 1800, and had then imbibed his peculiar views, which he afterward industriously disseminated, and with which he inoculated McNemar and Dunlavy. These facts were incontestably substantiated by certificates signed by Dr. Thomas Donnell, and Elders Samuel M. Waugh, William Thompson, Samuel Donnell, and John Hopkins, as well as by Dr. Campbell's own personal recollection of conversations held with Mr. Stone by himself.* That Mr. Craighead had led Houston astray was also shown from certificates signed by the Rev. S. B. Robertson and Rev. John Lyle, testifying to what they had heard from Houston's own mouth.†

In 1803, Stone and his followers drew off; but they had been for two or three years preaching, at first with reserve, afterward more boldly, Mr. Craighead's distinguishing doctrines, ridiculing the immediate agency of the Spirit, and derying any other regeneration than by faith in the Word.‡ A reference to their views as detailed in the Apology of the Springfield Presbytery would fully establish the identity of doctrine. Let it be borne in mind that within three years from this time Houston, McNemar, Dunlavy, Malcolm Worley, and John Woods, (who had run through the streets of Danville in a state of nudity crying, "Wo! wo! to the inhabitants of this town!"§) were proselyted to the Shakers, and became the most zealous and successful agents in entrapping others. It need only be added that it was from the New Light party almost exclusively that the Shakers drew their proselytes.||

* Pelagian Detected, pp. 57-63.

† Ibid. pp. 63, 64.

‡ Mr. McNemar was in the habit of sneering at these doctrines in the following low manner in his sermons: "Does the spirit creep in through the side or breast, or how does it obtain access to the heart?" Certificate of Mr. Hopkins. Pel. Det. p. 63.

§ Pel. Det. note, p. 66.

|| Ibid. p. 65.

Such stubborn facts as these proved convincingly the utter falsity of Mr. Craighead's calumnies, and made them recoil upon his own head with overwhelming force. He was shown to be the great day-spring of the New Light which had shed its baleful beams upon the West. As the Reviewer justly said, "there never would have been a Shaker in our country, [meaning the Western country,] had there never been a Craighead."*

These powerful pamphlets, with the ecclesiastical censures which about the same time fell on Mr. Craighead, absolutely annihilated him. He never was able to lift up his head afterward.

In the month of April, 1810, the Presbytery of Transylvania felt it to be their duty to take notice of the published sermon on Regeneration, and cited its author to their bar in June; and as he failed to appear then, renewed the citation for October 4th. At that meeting, in Danville, he was again absent, but sent two letters, excusing himself for not complying with either of the citations. The Presbytery deemed his reasons unsatisfactory, and proceeded, without further delay, to trial, upon the following charges, viz :

1. Denying and vilifying the real agency of the Spirit in regeneration, and in the production of faith and sanctification in general.

2. Denying, vilifying, and misrepresenting the doctrines of Divine foreordination, sovereignty, and election.

3. Denying and vilifying the doctrine of love to God and his law from a principle of Virtue in the heart, and teaching that the selfish principle of intellect produces Christian obedience which is acceptable to God.

4. Perverting the doctrine of faith, in destroying the difference between an evangelical faith and that which devils and wicked men may have of Divine realities.

* Pel. Det. p. 67. See also Dr. C.'s letter to Dr. Alexander, of Jan. 10, 1811. Prot. and Her., vol. x. No. 37. "This man has been the prime mover of all the disturbances of the West. I have documents in my possession to prove that he debauched the minds of Stone and Houston. Stone seduced McNemar—Mr. McNemar infected Dunlavy. It was a joint effort of all these that operated on the minds of Marshall and Thompson. These men were the puppets played off by the chief juggler behind the curtain. Mr. C. is really an interesting man; his talents plausible and his manners prepossessing. As a man, I sincerely love and respect him; but as a preacher, I really think of him only as a pest, and view him as the parent of all the New Lightism, schism, and Shakerism, which has cursed our country."

5. Perverting, abusing, and misstating the definitions, descriptions, and real sentiments, of the preachers and writers of our connections upon the subjects of faith and regeneration.

6. Giving a false coloring to facts which transpired in Synod and the Commission of Synod.

After mature deliberation, examination of references, and oral testimony, the Presbytery considered all the charges sufficiently established, and adjudged Mr. Craighead to be worthy of suspension, but agreed to refer the decision to the ensuing Synod.*

The Synod took up this reference at their meeting a few days afterward, (October 13th,) and after approving the promptness of the Presbytery in preparing the business for a speedy issue, concurred in opinion as to the merits of the case, and pronounced sentence of suspension from the office of the Gospel ministry. Mr. Craighead was further required to appear before his proper Presbytery at their next session, and there make a solemn recantation of his errors; failing to do which, the Presbytery were directed to depose him without delay.† The new Presbytery of Muhlenburg being now erected out of Transylvania, and Mr. Craighead falling within their bounds, the consideration of his case was transferred to them;‡ and accordingly, as Mr. Craighead continued to preach notwithstanding his suspension, and refused to obey the citation to appear before them, they proceeded, on the 2d of April, 1811, to pronounce final sentence of deposition upon him.§

Mr. Craighead appealed to the General Assembly of 1811, from the decision of Synod, but not prosecuting it, the Commissioners of Synod had leave, on the last day of the Sessions, to enter their protest, thus barring any future appeal, and making the judgment final.||

After this he made several ineffectual attempts to be restored. In 1812 he applied to Synod for a new trial, which was not granted, but an appropriate letter was written him.¶ In 1815 he took an appeal to the General Assembly, but they confirmed

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iii. pp. 252, 273.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 193.

§ MS. extract of the minutes of Muhl. Pby., among the filed papers of Trans. Presbytery.

|| Extract from the minutes of the General Assembly, filed among the papers of Synod.

¶ Min. Syn. vol. ii. p. 32.

the judgment of Synod ; and as they had directed no review by lower courts, Synod refused a fresh application of Mr. Craighead for a new trial.* He then addressed them a letter, (the body meeting that year at Nashville, Mr. Craighead's residence,) requesting leave to preach, in presence of the Synod, a sermon explanatory of his doctrinal views, in order to disabuse himself of erroneous impressions, and to furnish what might perhaps be deemed satisfactory concessions. The Synod unanimously refused to grant the request, consenting, however, to hear any statements by way of concession ; but having heard him at length, they were unanimously of opinion that he manifested no disposition to renounce the errors for which he had been deposed.†

At length, about eight years afterward, and twelve years since his suspension, he sent a letter and pamphlet to the General Assembly of 1822, which induced them to rescind their judgment in 1811 as being in error, and to permit him to prosecute an appeal from the decision of the Synod. He appealed the next year, but having failed to notify the Synod, nothing was done.‡ This omission was rectified, and in 1824 the case came up, the Synod having forwarded all papers necessary, and appointed Dr. Cleland and William L. McCalla their advocates.§ Mr. Craighead was enabled to make so good a vindication of himself, and to explain his views so much to the satisfaction of the Assembly, that they restored him to his ministerial standing. Not long after this event he departed this life in Nashville, aged about seventy years. For some time before his death he had suffered under the combined misfortunes of poverty and blindness.

Mr. Craighead was of a tall but spare figure, not less than six feet in height, homely and hard-featured, with sandy hair, and a large clear blue eye. His health was delicate, and his voice weak ; his manner grave, and his action natural but not vehement. He excelled as an extemporaneous orator, but not as a writer ; like many others of that class, exhibiting his weakness when he took up the pen, or attempted the cold abstractions of metaphysical research. His eloquence was of that fervid kind which captivates and carries away the hearer even in spite

* Min. Syn. vol. ii. p. 91.

† Presb. vol. xv. p. 37.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. ii. p. 113.

§ Min. Syn. vol. iii. pp. 61, 65.

of himself. We cannot but entertain a high opinion of its merits, when we reflect that it extorted a warm eulogium from his accomplished antagonist, Dr. Campbell; and that it was admired by so distinguished a lawyer as John Breckenridge, senior, then Attorney-General of the United States, who said that his discourses made a more lasting impression on his memory than those of any other man he had ever heard.

Mr. Craighead involved some of his followers, but not many, in his downfall. Dr. James Fishback, a physician of Lexington, and a son of James Fishback commemorated in a former chapter of this work, was open and undisguised in his admiration, and was one of the partial friends who were instrumental in procuring the publication of the sermon on Regeneration. He superintended the printing of the manuscript, and afterwards was active in circulating the Letters to Dr. Campbell. He was a friend and correspondent of the author, and did all in his power to disseminate his sentiments. The Session of the 1st Presbyterian Church in Lexington felt it their duty to summon him before them, when he read a paper explanatory of his views. The result was that he was suspended from church privileges. From their sentence he appealed to the Presbytery of West Lexington, in October, 1811, who affirmed the sentence of the Session; but carrying his appeal higher to the Synod, who sat a few days after, the judgment was reversed, and the case was remanded to the Session for a fuller investigation; but no further steps were ever taken.*

As Dr. Fishback occupied a prominent place in the ecclesiastical affairs of the West, it may not be amiss to record a few particulars concerning him. He was a man of remarkably fine personal appearance, a tall and commanding figure, and a sonorous voice; his talents were very respectable, though he was deficient in classical learning. His frequent changes laid him open to the charge of fickleness. After practising law for some time he applied himself to medicine, which he abandoned in turn for divinity; and being dissatisfied with the strict views of the Presbyterians he threw himself into the arms of the Baptists, among whom he was speedily recognized as a preacher.† But

* Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 23, 24. Min. Syn. vol. ii. pp. 16, 19.

† The celerity of this process was not a little remarkable. On the 4th Saturday in November, 1816, Dr. Fishback was immersed at Bryan's Station,

in the course of time his defence of open communion and his latitudinarian views lost him the confidence of that denomination; and after vacillating some time between the regular Baptists and the Campbellites, and holding himself awhile aloof from connection with either, he finally ended his career in communion with the latter, and officiated as one of their preachers in Lexington. He died after a lingering illness in the summer of 1845. He was the author of several works. In 1813, he published an octavo volume entitled, "*The Philosophy of the Human Mind, in respect to Religion*," in which he labored to establish a favorite theory that there is no such thing as Natural Religion, and that for every idea on the subject of religion, we are solely indebted to Revelation. In 1834, he appeared before the public with a duodecimo on the same subject, entitled, "*Essays and Dialogues on the powers and susceptibilities of the human mind for Religion*." He published also in 1822, a "Defence of the Elkhorn Association, in sixteen Letters to Elder Toler."

Another champion of Mr. Craighead was the Rev. John Todd, who had come to Kentucky from Hanover Presbytery, in Virginia, in 1809. He openly defended and disseminated the Pelagian tenets of Craighead, and inveighed against the censures of the Church courts. It was his habit, both in the pulpit and out of it, to affirm that the Spirit was in the word; that there was sufficient energy in the word to convert and sanctify; that man could believe the truth of himself; that the will had a self-determining power; that if God had foreordained whatsoever comes to pass there could be no sin in the world; and that the respectability of the Presbyterian Church in the Western country stood or fell with Craighead's sermon. On these charges Mr. Todd was tried by the Presbytery of Transylvania, Aug. 14, 1812, convicted, and solemnly admonished. As he continued to hold and teach his errors notwithstanding, the Presbytery, agreeably to advice of Synod, obtained in the interim, suspended him, April 15, 1813. Mr. Todd appealed to the Synod, but in vain. In 1817, (October 11th,) he took a sober second thought, recanted, and was restored.*

licensed to preach by the Church there in December, one month after his reception, and in seven months more, Aug. 22, 1817, ordained to the work of the ministry in the Presbyterian Meeting-House in Lexington, by Elders J. Creath, J. Vardeman, and J. Welch. Fishback's Letters to Toler, pp. 67, 90.

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. iv. pp. 35, 52, 119. Min. Syn. vol. ii. pp. 31, 36, 61, 105.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR OF 1812.

WE have seen the Church in Kentucky subjected to a season of severe trial. We have watched her passing through one storm after another in quick succession, founded, indeed, upon a rock, but surrounded by the sea. Scarcely had the institutions of religion been planted, when the Gospel was superseded by the secondary question of Psalmody, and the ploughshare of division was fiercely driven along by the hands of intolerant bigotry. From this rude shock they had not recovered, when they were nearly swept away by a whirlwind of mad enthusiasm. The revival of 1800, which at first seemed to promise fair, soon degenerated in the hands of a few youthful zealots, who assumed its management, and the reign of disorder extravagance, and error, for a brief space threatened to gain the ascendancy. It is gratifying to find how stoutly and gallantly the great body of the clergy stood up to the support of truth and order, although nearly overborne by a torrent of obloquy; and when charity could be no longer blind to the spread of heresy, how intrepidly they vindicated the authority of the laws of Christ's House. At one time Satan seemed to have obtained permission to let loose the four winds of heaven; and the enthusiasm of the New Lights, the success of the Shakers, the schism of the Cumberlands, and the errors of Craighead, simultaneously demanded resistance in every quarter. But, through the Divine Providence, the bush that was in the midst of raging flames was not consumed, the Church emerged safely from all her perils, and, after the lapse of nearly half a century, stands firmer than ever, commanding respect even from those that

hate her. The stormy trials through which she passed contributed to her benefit and strength, and there is no part of the Presbyterian body in the United States, at the present time, that furnishes more sturdy champions for rigid orthodoxy and efficient discipline, than the Synod of Kentucky; not even the Synod of Pittsburg, celebrated as the *backbone* of Presbyterianism. Her freedom for thirty years from dangerous heresies attests the fact, as well as the prompt and well-defined position of the Synod throughout the late New School controversy, and the very slight injury sustained at that period, when other portions of the Church were torn in pieces.

After such a series of tempestuous agitations, it could not be expected that the Church would be able to right herself all at once. Morbid excitements always leave the body weak; reaction is strong in proportion to their previous violence; and recovery to a sound, healthy, and active condition, is necessarily slow. Days of fasting and prayer were appointed in 1807, 1808, and 1809, in view of the low state of religion, the numerous and increasing errors of the day, the neglect of ordinances and of the religious education of youth, and the growing fondness for intemperance, balls, horse-races, and theatrical amusements.* In October, 1809, free conversation on the state of religion was, for the first time, introduced into the Synod. The result was a Narrative, from which it appeared that religion was at a low ebb, many had apostatized, public and family worship were much neglected, and the youth appeared to be growing up under circumstances unfavorable to religion and moral improvement. Still there were some small appearances of renewed attention to the Gospel message, which tended a little to animate and encourage. The Presbyteries were ordered to give more particular heed to watching, discipline, catechizing, and the religious instruction and humane treatment of slaves. Mr. Rice proposed two plans for putting the Church into a better state, but there not being time to digest them sufficiently, their further consideration was postponed.†

The Narrative of the following year (Oct. 15, 1810) was more cheering. The cause of Christ was represented as pro-

* Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 134, 148, 160.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. pp. 171-177.

gressing, attention to ordinances improving, infidels reclaimed, new churches formed, and old ones enlarged. There was no general revival of religion, but visibly increasing seriousness on the part of old and young. From partial reports it appeared that more than two hundred and fifty members had been added within their bounds. The influence of the Schismatics was considerably diminished, and many had returned to order.* At this meeting the Synod resolved to submit to the attention of the General Assembly the appointment of a stated missionary for the Western country, to be settled on the Wabash, who should be constantly employed in Missionary service.†

These pleasing prospects were soon overcast. The public mind became intensely excited upon political affairs, and could think and speak of nothing else. The whole country was at that period divided into two great political parties, denominated Federal and Democratic. The latter party, of which mention was made in a former chapter, and which had been the dominant party ever since the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency in 1801, sympathized warmly with revolutionary France, and rejoiced in her victories; nor was this amicable disposition destroyed by the change of the Consulate into the Empire. The Federal party, on the other hand, saw in the success of the revolution the triumph of anarchy and infidelity, and dreaded their contagious influence. Both France and Great Britain had committed spoliations on our commerce, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of the one, and the orders in council of the other, bore hard upon the neutral and carrying trade of the United States, then very considerable. The Federalists, however, were willing to overlook the grievances sustained at the hands of England, because they regarded her as the bulwark of rational liberty and religion. The Democratic party were, in like manner, disposed to wink at the injuries inflicted by France,

* Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 194.

† Min. Syn. vol. i. p. 193. From this small seed sprang so great an increase, that in fifteen years, (1825,) we find *Wabash Presbytery*, together with Madison, set off from Salem. Vol. iii. p. 129. The missionary contributions reported from the churches, in 1806, were \$150,58½. In 1809, \$227,81¼. Andrew McCalla was the Treasurer. Vol. i. pp. 108, 178. It is worthy of note, in passing, that in 1808, the Synod abolished the custom of thanking the preacher of the missionary sermon, "as the member who preaches the sermon does no more than his duty, and if the sermon be good, thanks are immediately due to Almighty God." Vol. i. p. 163.

absorbed in the greater question of the progress of the human race; while their antipathy to England was so strong, that nothing but open hostilities would satisfy it. Party spirit ran high, and the virulence of faction raged with unprecedented force.

At length, on the 18th of June, 1812, war was formally declared against Great Britain. Napoleon had already started on his expedition against Russia with sanguine expectations of success; Europe lay humbled at his feet; England was the only power that maintained an attitude of resistance. Her situation was growing every day more perilous and more interesting. Those whose sympathies were enlisted in her cause as the cause of religion and civil liberty, hesitated not to denounce the war as unwise, uncalled for, and unjust; which naturally incensed the war party, and produced an exceedingly embittered state of feeling. While some of the Northern States refused to do more than furnish their contingent for defensive operations, Kentucky, with the exception of a small minority, was enthusiastic in favor of the war. Nothing could exceed the eagerness with which her young men poured forth as volunteers under Harrison in the West, and Jackson in the South; and while the gallant navy were winning deathless laurels by their brilliant achievements on the lakes, the noblest blood of Kentucky was saturating the soil of the adjacent territory.

Of this the massacre of the River Raisin was a sad and memorable instance. The British, unshamed by the lofty and burning invective of the departed Chatham, had stooped to court an alliance with Tecumseh, the Indian Napoleon; a man of splendid genius and powerful eloquence, who had formed the magnificent plan of consolidating the scattered tribes in one grand confederacy, for the purpose of gratifying their hatred of the white man by extinguishing forever his settlements west of the Alleghany mountains. The whole frontier echoed the terrific war-whoop; the nightly sky was lit up by the flames of burning cabins; and the tomahawk was drenched with the blood of women and children. Such were the barbarities which the British traders, jealous of American competition and anticipating a war, instigated by liberal presents of arms and ammunition, with the sanction of their government. On the 7th of November, 1811, a large force, collected under Tecumseh, made an

attack on the camp of General Harrison, then Governor of the Territory of Indiana, at Tippecanoe, but owing to the precautions of that distinguished commander, they met with a signal repulse.* The ferocity which obtained from General Proctor a promise, happily frustrated, that General Harrison and his troops should be given up to the Indians to be burned at the stake, was amply gratified by the massacre of the River Raisin. Early in 1813, upon the defeat of General Winchester, five hundred men were there taken prisoners, the greater part of whom were massacred on the spot by Tecumseh and his demons, without any interference from the British General. Thus fell some of the first young men of Kentucky, and the news clothed many a distinguished family in mourning. Among the number was a son of Dr. Blythe, who was tomahawked standing and unresisting, by a savage who had taken possession of him as his prisoner.

Another bloody engagement was that in which Colonel Dudley was defeated soon after, at Fort Meigs, where Tecumseh surrounded him with a force three times in number, and a desperate struggle ensued, not more than one hundred and fifty escaping out of a detachment of eight hundred.

At length, after the brilliant battle of New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815, and the proclamation of the Treaty of Ghent shortly afterward, peace was restored. But it would be folly to suppose that so protracted and severe a contest could have been carried on without extensively affecting the country in all its interests, and inflicting a fatal injury on the cause of religion. Not only the unsettling and demoralizing effects of war upon the population generally must be taken into account, we have in this case to add the mutual estrangement and recriminations of those who had espoused different sides of the great political question of the expediency of the war. To so great a length was this feeling carried, that a hot advocate of the war could not hear a clergyman of contrary sentiments preach, or finding such a one unexpectedly in the pulpit, would leave the house.

* In this battle fell the celebrated Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, one of Kentucky's most gallant and gifted sons. He commanded as a Major of Cavalry. He was wounded in three places while making a charge, and survived only about sixteen hours. He met death with great calmness and composure, and seemed to be engaged in watching its progress. Although a Federalist, and opposed to the war, his foot was among the first in the stirrup.

Another illustration of this unpleasant alienation of feeling is furnished in the difficulties that sprung up between Dr. Blythe and William L. McCalla. Mr. McCalla brought Dr. Blythe before the bar of the West Lexington Presbytery, August 3d, 1813, on various charges as detailed in the biographical sketch in Chapter IV. Suffice it to say for the present, that from the Declaration there would appear to have been a difference in political sentiments between them, Mr. McCalla being a warm partisan in favor of the war, while Dr. Blythe, although he was patriotic enough not to withhold a favorite son from his country's defence, was nevertheless known to be strongly opposed to the war. Mr. McCalla, in his first allegation, accused him of having avowed a determination, before several persons, to oppose his licensure on account of his political opinions; and that he had said to complainant's own mother that he could not conscientiously promote it, because he regarded her son's political sentiments, especially on mobs and effigy-burning, as really unprincipled and immoral, and he could not be instrumental in introducing a firebrand into the Church.*

It further appears, that in a sermon which Mr. McCalla had read as a candidate four months before, (April 14th, 1843,) he had painted a noble young volunteer arming for battle, his farewell parting, and his heroic death. After he had retired, Dr. Blythe rose, and in a touching manner complained that the story was introduced for the purpose of harrowing up the feelings of a bereaved parent, for there were 'circumstances detailed in the account that were applicable only to his own son, who had been killed at the River Raisin early in the year.† The Presbytery considered the sermon so objectionable, that after at first agreeing to sustain it, with the proviso that the Moderator should accompany the announcement to the candidate with suitable admonitory remarks,‡ they decided the next day, on more mature deliberation, not to sustain it at all, one or two dissenting.§ Meantime, in order to enable the dissenters to prepare their dissent, they retained the paper in their hands.|| Hereupon Mr. McCalla made a peremptory demand for the manuscript, accompanied

* Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 97.

† Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 68.

|| Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 75.

† Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 112-115.

§ Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 71.

with threats of a resort to the civil law. The Presbytery offered to furnish an attested copy, which he refused, and as they declined to return the original, he stepped forward, and laying violent hands on the paper, carried it off. A committee was appointed to expostulate with him, but failed either to recover the manuscript or to obtain any concessions, on which his trials were suspended; a decision which was afterwards confirmed by the Synod on review.*

Among the prevailing evils of the times, not irreligion merely, but unblushing infidelity also, were spreading extensively through the land. Everywhere were to be met, in genteel society and in the country tavern, admirers of French philosophy; and many who were regarded as intellectual and influential, especially among professional men, were open unbelievers.† In view of the calamities of war, pestilence, and the low state of religion, the Presbytery of West Lexington appointed a general Fast on the second Thursday of May, 1814.‡

It was in the same year that Messrs. Daniel Smith and Samuel J. Mills visited Kentucky and the South-west, in behalf of the American Bible Society, with a view to distribute copies of the Holy Scriptures, to form Bible Societies, and to organize churches. It may give a vivid idea of the destitution of the

* Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 74, 75. Min. Syn. vol. ii. p. 62.

Mr. McCalla contended that so far from designing to wound Dr. B.'s feelings, the instance he had had in his eye was the fall of his own brother, who had been also a volunteer. The Rev. WILLIAM L. MCCALLA was a son of that worthy man, Andrew McCalla, of Lexington, before mentioned as holding various offices of trust in the community, and distinguished for his benevolent attentions to the sick. None who ever saw his mother, will soon forget the keen eye and strong character of that ardent mother in Israel. She fell a victim to the cholera in 1833. Gen. John M. McCalla, now one of the Auditors of the Treasury of the U. S. is his brother. This eccentric but talented divine was first settled at Maysville, then at Philadelphia, whence he found his way to the Republic of Texas, as Chaplain to the Navy. Disappointed in his expectations of extensive usefulness in that field, he soon abandoned it, and published the result of his observations in a small volume. He has shone most conspicuously as a polemic. He has been engaged in discussions with Alexander Campbell, the Christians of Milford, the Roman Catholics, and the New School Presbyterians. Armed at all points, his antagonists have quailed beneath his withering sarcasm, his unsparing invective, and a fluency that never was at a loss for a word; while in the stormiest debate and the most turbulent assembly, he stood as cool and imperturbable as an ice-ribbed rock of the North, or Demosthenes haranguing the roaring surf.

† Nelson's Cause and Cure of Infidelity, pp. 215-217. Dr. Campbell's Sermon before the Synod, Oct. 14, 1812. "A Portrait of the Times," p. 17.

‡ Min. W. L. Pby. vol. ii. p. 175.

means of grace which fell under their observation, to state, that they spent two Sabbaths in a certain town in Kentucky, then containing two or three thousand inhabitants, without being able to collect a congregation for the worship of God. The negroes were standing in groups in the streets, laughing and swearing; the boys playing and hallooing; the men in the outskirts of the town, shooting at pigeons, of which immense flocks were flying over the place; the more respectable class of gentlemen riding out for amusement. In short, the only peculiar mark of attention by which the Sabbath day was distinguished, was, that there was more noise, more profanity, and more wickedness, than on any other day of the seven. It is gratifying, however, to be able to add, that ten years afterward there were three large and flourishing churches planted in that very town.*

In spite of all these antagonistic influences, the cause of religion was making some advance, and Zion was lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes. In 1814, the churches on the northern side of the Ohio river had so multiplied as to require the erection of a new Synod, called the Synod of Ohio, consisting of the Presbyteries of Washington, Lancaster, and Miami.† In 1817, a still further division was rendered necessary towards the South, and the Synod of Tennessee was set off, comprising the Presbyteries of Union, Shiloh, West Tennessee, and Mississippi.‡

But while there was a slow advance on the part of the Church, the progress of infidelity was rapid and alarming. The prospect grew darker and darker, until in 1818 occurred an event which fell on the Christian community like a clap of thunder, and which furnishes one of the most striking evidences of the truth of the remark just made. In that year the Legislature of the State, on the motion of some of its members, suddenly and summarily ejected the whole Board of Trustees of Transylvania University, which had hitherto been under Presbyterian influence and control, and in utter violation of the charter, appointed in their place thirteen new trustees, not one of whom was a professor of religion of any sect.§ From that time, with an ungodly Board

* Bishop's Rice, pp. 195, 196.

† Bishop's Rice, p. 252.

‡ Bishop's Rice, p. 251.

§ Marshall's Letter, &c.

of Trustees, and a Unitarian President, that institution sent forth infidel graduates with great uniformity.*

In the year 1820 died the Rev. JAMES MCCORD. He was born in Baltimore in 1785, and removed to Lexington at five years of age. He received a liberal education, and proceeded

* Nelson, p. 108.

Deplorably low as the state of religion was about this period, and discouraging as were its prospects, still matters were not in so shocking a condition as they have been represented by Dr. Bishop, in his *Memoirs of Rice*, p. 306. And the present writer feels as if it would be unfaithfulness to the cause of Protestant Christianity to suffer the statement to pass uncorrected. In that place Dr. Bishop represents the population of Kentucky in 1820 as 564,317, and deducting 46,730 church members, (viz: Baptists, 21,630; Methodists, 20,850; Presbyterians, 2,700; Cumberland Presbyterians, 1,000; others, 500;) and all under 10 years of age, amounting to 190,450, he leaves the large number of 327,137, white and black, "to be brought under the influence of a Christian profession." He further states that there were about 200 preachers in the State, of different denominations; and he assigns to each an audience of not more than 200 persons on an average; amounting to only 40,000 hearers of the Gospel in the entire State, and leaving the immense number of 460,000 persons who never attended public worship. The Very Reverend Dr. Martin J. Spalding, Roman Catholic pastor of Bardstown, and Vicar-General of Kentucky, in his interesting "*Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions*," (published in 1844,) has seized on these statistics, and employed them, with a very natural zeal, to the discredit of Protestantism. He observes that they exhibit a truly frightful picture of the religious condition of the Protestant sects in Kentucky, after forty years' exertion, with all their parade about religion, the Sabbath, and the Bible. Only one-eighth of the entire population over ten years of age made Christians, and seven-eighths unchristianized! What, he asks, became of all the converts made in the great revival? (p. 109.)

The Vicar-General quotes fairly, and we have no right to blame him for making his own inferences. But we have a right to censure the author who has incautiously put such weapons into an adversary's hands. No one can examine the statistics without perceiving their glaring unfairness and gross mistakes. The number of church members is represented as 46,730, and yet the entire average of attendants on public worship is only 40,000!! This is too ridiculous for comment.

Again, Dr. B. deducts all under ten years of age. But he ought to have borne in mind that Protestant Churches are not in the habit of admitting youths of twelve or fifteen to the communion. Applicants of so tender an age they generally retain for some time in the condition of catechumens, to give them an opportunity to examine the grounds of their faith, and to count the cost. No judicious minister encourages such youths to come forward under the pressure of an excitement which may be spurious. It would have been therefore a much safer process to have deducted all under fifteen or sixteen, which would have produced a very different result. Let us compute the number thus comprehended at only one-half of the number under ten, 95,225; these, with the children under ten, and the church members, being subtracted, leave 231,912 persons of an age ordinarily deemed suitable for making a profession of religion.

But let us proceed a step farther, and deduct the average number attending public worship, which may reasonably be put down at three non-professors to one professor. This gives us 140,190 persons in the habit of attending the preaching of the Gospel besides the church-members, leaving 91,722 persons not habitual hearers. According to this estimate, instead of the frightful proportion

to read law with the Hon. Henry Clay, but becoming pious turned his thoughts to the ministry. He spent four years with Dr. Mason at the Theological Seminary in New York, where he held the foremost rank. He was licensed in 1809, ordained in 1811, and published a treatise in 1814, on the nature of the Church, under the title of "The Body of Christ." The Associate Reformed Presbytery condemned it as erroneous, and suspended him the next year. He in vain sought redress from the Synod, and anticipating their sentence, in 1817 he handed in a declinature of their authority; (a practice authorized by their Form of Government, chap. 8, sect. 3; and chap. 10, sect. 10.) He then applied to the West Lexington Presbytery, who finding his opinions not at variance with their own, admitted him. His views on Inter-communion were liberal. He became the first pastor of the Market street or Second Presbyterian Church, Lexington, founded in 1815. His preaching was very much admired, until it resulted in the conversion of some of his young and fashionable auditors; when the rest took the alarm, and a storm of persecution was raised against him by those who desired only entertaining preaching, and who exercised a controlling influence over the fiscal affairs of the congregation. Mr. McChord was made very uncomfortable, and was compelled to exchange his situation in 1819, for an academy at Paris. Upon his death in 1820, his admirers rallied, and paid him the honor of altering the name of his late charge to that of "*McChord's Church*." His remains were interred beneath the pulpit, and a marble tablet set in the wall. It might be truly said of this brilliant but unfortunate man, "he asked for bread and they gave him a stone." He was of a slender person, and a rapid and comprehensive intellect. His style was glowing and gorgeous, and his imagination exuberant to a fault. His published writings are. 1. A Sermon on the Divine Forgiveness, 1812; 2. A Sermon on the Signs of the Times, 1813; 3. The Body of Christ, a series

of seven-eighths of the entire population, we have only one-sixth, not in the habit of attending public worship; and perhaps we might be still nearer the truth were we to adopt the proportion assumed by Dr. Campbell, of one-eighth. (See his "Portrait of the Times;" 1812, p. 19.) This number is large indeed, but compared with Dr. Bishop's 327,137 unchristianized adults, it is somewhat less shocking; and it is consoling to reflect and hope that five-sixths or seven-eighths of the population had the opportunity of hearing the Gospel, and were to some extent under its salutary influence, although not prepared to make a profession.

of Essays on Federal Representation, 1814; 4. A Sermon preached before the Legislature, on National Safety, 1815; 5. A Plea for the Hope of Israel, being his Defence before the Synod, 1817; 6. A Last Appeal to the Market street Church, being a volume of Sermons; 7. A volume of Posthumous Discourses.

His successors were the Rev. John Breckenridge, in 1823; the Rev. John C. Young, in 1829; the writer of these pages, in 1832; the Rev. John D. Matthews, in 1841; and the Rev. John H. Brown, in 1844. During the intervals between the accessions of the different pastors, the Rev. Messrs. Bishop, Wallace, Joyce, and Birch officiated as supplies for the pulpit. The old edifice, (together with a handsome lecture-room, the munificent gift of David A. Sayre, Esq.,) is now superseded by a more aspiring Gothic structure in the modern style.

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY AND CENTRE COLLEGE.

THE history of Transylvania University and of the relation which the Presbyterian Church sustained to it, is of sufficient importance to require a separate chapter. Various details concerning this subject have been purposely deferred to the present, in order that the whole might be more advantageously exhibited under one view.

Presbyterianism, being essentially a republican system, has always incorporated popular education as one of its prime elements. Abhorring equally the dogmas, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; and that the clergy alone constitute The Church, and requiring the people by their representatives, the elders, to share in the government, it has ever been a principal aim to foster learning in the ministry and intelligence among the laity. The same spirit that founded Nassau Hall in New Jersey, Hampden Sidney and Liberty Hall in Virginia, and Washington and Jefferson colleges in Pennsylvania, early busied itself to plant a similar institution in the West.

So early as 1780, five years after its first settlement by Daniel Boone, in the very infancy of the colony, the Legislature of Virginia vested 8,000 acres of escheated lands, situated in Kentucky county, in trust, for the purpose of establishing therein a public school or seminary of learning. In 1783, these trustees were incorporated, and 12,000 acres of escheated lands were granted, in addition, for the endowment of the new institution, which was to be known as THE TRANSYLVANIA SEMINARY; a classical and euphonious name, fitly chosen to denote what was in common parlance known as the *Backwoods*. In 1787, one-sixth of the surveyors' fees, in what was now the District of

Kentucky, formerly given to the College of William and Mary, was further appropriated to aid in the endowment. This law was afterwards repealed by the Legislature of Kentucky in 1802. After Kentucky had been erected into a State, in 1792, laws were passed exempting lands from escheat, in order to encourage settlement and augment the population, the effect of which was to deprive the seminary of the 12,000 acres last granted by Virginia.*

The persons who were most active in furthering this enterprise were the Rev. John Todd, of Hanover Presbytery in Virginia; his nephew, Col. John Todd, member of the Virginia Legislature from the county of Fayette, who afterwards fell in so melancholy a manner at the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks; and the Hon. Caleb Wallace, member from the county of Lincoln. These persons were all Presbyterians.†

The Board of Trustees met, November 10th, 1783, in Lincoln county, when the Rev. David Rice was appointed Chairman, which office he held for four years, when he resigned and was succeeded by Judge Innis. In February, 1785, by direction of the Board, the seminary was opened in the house of Mr. Rice at or near Danville, which was the first school taught in Kentucky.‡ The endowment proving for a long time unproductive, sufficed only to afford a scanty salary for a single teacher, and in consequence the institution could not rise above the rank of a common grammar-school.§

On the 13th of October, 1788, the Seminary was removed to Lexington, then a large and flourishing town, by which step Lexington became, and for a long time continued to be, the literary, even after it had ceased to be the political and commercial, capital of the West.|| Whatever advantages may have been anticipated from this measure, a very serious evil resulted in a few years. The tone of sentiment among the leading men in that place had become deeply tinged with the spirit of

* Report of the Committee of Visitors, 1842, pp. 1, 2. Memoir of Pres. Holley, p. 193.

† Stuart's Reminiscences, No. IV. Bishop's Rice, p. 96. Memorial of Synod to the Legisl. Filed papers of Trans. Phy.

‡ Bishop's Rice, pp. 96, 97.

§ McFarland's Literary Pamphleteer, p. 9.

|| Bishop's Rice, p. 97.

French infidelity. It was the head-quarters of one of the Democratic or Jacobin Clubs, established under the auspices of Genet, and other French emissaries, which was distinguished for its activity, dogmatism, and virulence.* This violent sympathy with everything French, unfortunately comprehended the French antipathy to the Christian religion, as was shortly manifested in its bringing about a change in the direction of public instruction and securing the control in its own hands. The endeavor was but too successful; and on the 30th of June, 1794, the teacher of Transylvania Seminary, Mr. James Moore, a Presbyterian, was ejected by the Board of Trustees, and the Rev. Harry Toulmin, a known disciple of Priestley, was placed at its head. The Presbyterian members of the Board strongly remonstrated against this procedure, and exerted all their influence to prevent its mischievous consequences, but in vain; they were overruled by a mad and misguided majority, and a fatal blow was thus given to the prosperity of the school.† Tolerance has never been a virtue of scepticism.

Mr. TOULMIN was by birth an Englishman, and by profession a Baptist preacher, but in sentiment he was a Unitarian, and a follower of Dr. Priestley. His doctrinal views coincided with those of his brother Joshua Toulmin, D.D., of Taunton, England, whose "Addresses to Young Men," were tainted with Socinian errors. Toulmin was, moreover, a hot politician and a sycophantic satellite of Thomas Jefferson, to whom he dedicated several adulatory stanzas in a small volume of very indifferent poems, which he published in Lexington, in 1805.‡ His democratical partisanship and Socinian doctrine made him popular with the Deistical clubs, and through their influence he was invited to preside over Transylvania Seminary. This station, however, he did not long occupy, leaving it in two years for the higher post of Secretary of State, to which he was appointed in 1796, by Governor Garrard, whom, with others of the same family, he had succeeded in proselyting to his religious system. Mr. Toulmin published a Digest of the Laws of Kentucky; and

* Butler's Hist. of Ky., c. xiii. pp. 222, 231.

† Stuart's Rem. No. IV. Pamphleteer, No. I. p. 10.

‡ Short Poetic Attempts, by Damon, 2d edition, pp. 5, 10, 14.

was subsequently made a United States' Judge in the Territory of Alabama.*

The Presbytery of Transylvania were not unprepared for the crisis. They had foreseen its inevitable approach, and had taken timely measures to found an independent college under their own patronage, in which their sons might enjoy the advantages of a liberal education without the contamination of their religious principles, and which might furnish the churches with able and faithful ministers. At their spring meeting in Woodford Church, April 22d, 1794, they issued proposals for setting on foot a grammar-school and a public seminary, accompanied with an address to the people of Kentucky, Cumberland, and the Miami settlements. Forty-seven gentlemen were appointed as collectors in the various congregations, who were to pay the moneys they received into the hands of the Rev. James Crawford, Stated Clerk of Presbytery.†

In the proposals it was announced that the grammar-school should be under the care of a minister who was a member of the Presbytery, and should be visited by them or their committee at least once a year; that the teacher should be appointed by the Presbytery, the clerical superintendent supplying any vacancy occurring in the recess; and that promising youths should be sought out and educated, if needful, at the expense of the churches, for which purpose all heads of families were recommended to contribute annually for four years, two shillings and threepence.‡ The public seminary was to be placed under the care of a President, who should be a learned and zealous minister of the Gospel; but no endeavors should be used by him or other teachers to influence the mind of any student to change his religious tenets, any further than is consistent with the general belief of the Gospel system, and the practice of vital piety. The number of trustees was twenty-one, of whom one-half should always be taken from the ministers of Transylvania Presbytery, or if divided into two or more Presbyteries, the ministers composing them; and two-thirds should constitute a quorum.§ It is worthy of note that neither in the printed pro-

* Butler's Hist. c. xv. p. 262.

† Proposals, p. 4. Min. Trans. Phy. vol. i. p. 121.

‡ Proposals, pp. 3, 4, 5.

§ Proposals, pp. 6, 7. Min. Trans. Phy. vol. i. pp. 109, 111, 113, 117.

posals nor the address is there the remotest allusion to the circumstances which created the necessity for this effort.

The Presbytery proceeded with great vigor. In December of the same year, they petitioned the Legislature for a charter, the venerable Father Rice appearing in their behalf, and succeeded in procuring one for their seminary, under the style and title of, "THE KENTUCKY ACADEMY;" and on February 10th, 1798, the Legislature gave them an endowment of 6,000 acres of land.*

In addition to the handsome grant of the Legislature, the collections sped prosperously. The subscriptions and donations in the State amounted to upwards of one thousand pounds, which was equivalent to three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, in federal currency; the pound being rated at three dollars, thirty-three cents, and three mills.† Messrs. Rice and Blythe were chosen commissioners to the next General Assembly, and appointed at the same time solicitors in the Atlantic States. They were very successful in their tour, and collected nearly ten thousand dollars. Among the donors was President Washington, who received Dr. Blythe with great courtesy, and expressed his warm interest in the subject of popular education.‡ On a parchment subscription list in the archives of Transylvania University, may yet be seen recorded the names of George Washington and John Adams, for one hundred dollars each, and Aaron Burr for fifty dollars.§

The Academy had also a small but valuable library and philosophical apparatus to commence with as a nucleus. For these it was indebted to the generous exertions of the Rev. Dr. Gordon, of London. An epistolary acquaintance having commenc-

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. pp. 151, 156. 1 Littell, c. 51. At the same time they gave a like quantity of land to Franklin and Salem Academies, Jefferson Seminary, and the Lexington Seminary. Littell's Laws of Kentucky, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108. For the charter at length, see Littell, vol. i. pp. 228-230. The trustees appointed were eighteen in number, as follows: David Rice, Caleb Wallace, Jacob Froman, Samuel Shannon, Terah Templin, John Miller, James Crawford, Robert Finley, Andrew McCalla, William Ward, James Thompson, James Camper, John Caldwell, William Henry, Robert Marshall, Notly Conn, James Blythe, and Cary Allen.

† Bishop's Rice, p. 97.

‡ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. p. 141. The amount collected is stated, on the authority of Dr. Blythe, from whose lips also the interesting anecdote respecting General Washington was obtained.

§ Lex. Obs. and Rep., June 17, 1843.

ed between that gentleman and the Rev. John Todd, through their common friend, President Davies, and Mr. Todd having, in 1765, expressed a desire to procure books and instruments for some young persons designed for the ministry, Dr. Gordon exerted himself to obtain subscriptions and donations of books, which were transmitted about four years afterward. The subscriptions amounted to eighty pounds, two shillings and sixpence. Of this amount the excellent and well-known John Thornton contributed fifty pounds, and the rest was made up by Dr. Gordon, the Rev. Mr. Towle, Messrs. Fuller, Samuel and Thomas Stratton, Charles Jerdein, David Jennings, Jonathan Eade, Joseph Ainsley, and John Field, of Thames street. Of the money collected, forty-three pounds one shilling were expended on books, and twenty-eight pounds ten shillings on an air-pump, microscope, telescope, and prisms. The cases, freight, shipping, insurance, &c., at four different periods, came to eight pounds eleven shillings.*

This library was placed in the hands of Mr. Rice by Mr. Todd, with the consent of Dr. Gordon, for the use of students of theology in Kentucky, under the care of the Presbytery of Transylvania. On the 15th of September, 1797, the Presbytery passed an order, directing these books to be delivered by Mr. Rice to the trustees of Kentucky Academy.† They, at the same time, formally surrendered to the trustees their care of Pisgah Grammar-School, with their right to the house in which

* Winterbotham's Historical View of the United States, vol. iii. p. 155. Mr. Winterbotham supposes that the books thus purchased and given constituted the main part of the Lexington library; and adds, that as this account of the library is different from that of Mr. Morse, and other writers, he thinks it proper to inform the public, that he inserts the above at the desire of Dr. Gordon himself. But the history of the Lexington Library by the directors is as follows: That in 1796, the library of the Transylvania Seminary being small, and no private libraries in the neighborhood, the library company was formed, for the joint benefit of the students and citizens. One hundred shares were taken, (equal to \$500,) with which 400 volumes were purchased; and the whole deposited in the Seminary, under the name of the Transylvania Library. The books were not long after removed to a more commodious situation, with the consent of the trustees, and assumed the name of the Lexington Library; since which time it has been increased to the number of 8,000 or 9,000 volumes. From this narrative it would appear that only the 400 books constituting the town library had been removed, and those originally belonging to the seminary left untouched. See the narrative prefixed to the Catalogue of the Lexington Library, 1821, p. 15.

† Min. Trans. Phy. vol. ii. p. 152.

it was taught, and all lands given for its use, to be disposed of for the benefit of the Academy.

The Grammar-School had been put in operation at Pisgah, near Lexington, immediately on the issuing of proposals, and the tuition fixed at four pounds per annum. Mr. Andrew Steel was appointed by Presbytery the teacher. April 13th, 1796, he was succeeded by James Moore, and Mr. Moore again, Oct. 6th, 1797, by John Thomson.*

The college was opened in the fall of 1797, at Pisgah, the offers from that neighborhood being more advantageous than those from Paris and Harrodsburg.† The Presbyterians having now concentrated all their patronage upon their own college and grammar-school, and having in their hands a supply of active funds, speedily outstripped the seminary at Lexington. Toulmin, after a brief career, had resigned for the more lucrative and exalted office of Secretary of State; and the institution was reduced to a pitiable destitution, notwithstanding the recall of Mr. Moore, and the attempt of the citizens to render it more attractive by the establishment of a library of four hundred volumes.‡

The leaders at Lexington now took the alarm; and waking, at last, to a sense of their folly, endeavored to rescue Transylvania Seminary from the utter insignificance into which she seemed about to fall, by conciliating the Presbyterians, and courting their alliance. The latter listened without resentment, and a committee was appointed by each board to confer on the subject of a re-union. Every concession was made, and every pledge offered that the Presbyterians could desire; and their ascendancy, as they fondly but erroneously imagined, was re-established securely against all future vicissitudes. Not yet sufficiently taught by experience, a still bitterer lesson was in reserve for them. The provisions which allured them were chiefly these; that the new board should consist of twenty-one members, the majority of whom should be Presbyterians; that the charter should not be altered or repealed except on petitions signed by

* Min. Trans. Pby. vol. i. p. 127; ii. pp. 97, 164.

† Bishop's Rice, p. 97.

‡ Pamphleteer, No. I., p. 10. Memorial of Synod to the Legislature, 1824; on file among the papers of Transylvania Pby. Stuart's Rem., No. IV.

at least eleven, i. e. a majority ; and as they would be a body corporate, filling their own vacancies, it was natural to suppose that they would be able to retain their preponderance forever. By this compact, however, they surrendered the right of ecclesiastical interference and control, and adopted for the guidance of the University the laws and regulations by which it had been previously governed.*

Accordingly, on the 22d of December, 1798, the Legislature, on the joint petition of the two boards, amalgamated Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy, with their respective funds, in one institution, under the imposing title of THE TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, with twenty-one trustees, a majority of whom were Presbyterians, and some of them clergymen.†

It must not be supposed, however, that this change had the approbation of the entire Presbyterian community. There were not wanting those who doubted whether the original design of the Presbytery was complied with;‡ and it is not unworthy of note, that the hand of the venerable patriarch, David Rice, is nowhere to be seen in the transaction, from beginning to end. Could the sense of the Presbyterian body in Kentucky be taken now upon the measure, it would probably be almost unanimously adverse to it, and in favor of the independent institution at Pisgah. Certainly the successful experiment of Centre College might satisfy the most doubtful.

The university commenced its career with flattering auspices. Three professorships were founded, with salaries of five hundred dollars each, and filled as follows : The Rev. James Moore,§

* Pamphleteer, No. I., p. 10. Stuart's Reminiscences, No. IV. Act for the Union, section 5th, Littell, vol. ii. p. 235.

† 2 Littell, pp. 234-236 ; where see charter at length. The trustees were the following : James Garrard, Samuel McDowell, Cornelius Beatty, Frederick Ridgeley, Robert Marshall, George Nicholas, James Crawford, Joseph Crockett, Bartlett Collins, Andrew McCalla, William Morton, Robert Steel, John McDowell, Alexander Parker, Caleb Wallace, James Trotter, Levi Todd, James Blythe, Thomas Lewis, John Bradford, and Buckner Thruston.

‡ Marshall's Letter to W. L. Presby., 1818, on file.

§ Mr. Moore was received as a candidate by Transylvania Presbytery, "upon the whole," April 27th, 1792. Min. vol. i. p. 68. His trial sermon, the year following, on Luke xiii. 5, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish," was not sustained, and another was appointed. Ib. p. 106. April 26th, 1794, the Presbytery, having some doubts as to his experimental piety, desired to examine him again upon that point for the satisfaction of a majority of the members, who had not been present at the previous examination. To this Mr. Moore

Acting President, and Professor of Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and Belles-Lettres; the Rev. James Blythe, Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Geography; the Rev. Robert Stuart, Professor of Ancient Languages, who was succeeded, upon his resignation the next year, by the Rev. James Welch. Besides the Academical Staff, Law and Medical Departments were added the next year, (1799,) George Nicholas, Esq., being appointed the Professor in the Law School; and in the Medical, Dr. Ridgeley, Professor of Medicine and Surgery, and Dr. Samuel Brown, Professor of Chemistry.*

The institution possessed a miscellaneous library of thirteen hundred volumes, a law library, a medical library, and philosophical apparatus. Its landed endowment amounted to twenty thousand acres; viz: eight thousand, originally given to Transylvania Seminary, and six thousand more in 1798, (part of which were situated in the rich central portion of the State,) and six thousand acres granted in the same year to Kentucky Academy, (situated in the Green river country,) to say nothing of the sixth of the surveyor's fees, the value of which has never been ascertained. Dr. Miller estimated the lands to be worth one hundred and seventy-nine thousand dollars. Mr. Marshall's estimate, at two dollars per acre, would bring forty thousand

repeatedly refused to submit. Whereupon it was the unanimous voice of the Presbytery that he be dismissed; and the occasion was taken to pass a formal resolution, asserting the right of the body to repeat from time to time such examinations of their candidates, if thought necessary, until fully satisfied. *Ib.* pp. 122, 123. Mr. Moore appears, however, to have had warm friends in Virginia, where he had formerly resided; and among the filed papers of Transylvania Presbytery, is a letter from the venerable John Brown and Archibald Scott, containing a high eulogium upon him. They stated that his natural endowments were superior, his acquirements good, and his moral character unsullied. He had an excellent temper, engaging manners, modesty, humility, and tenderness of affection. He had an apparent love of activity in regard to social religious exercises, and the management of persons under first impressions. They thought his modesty, pious education, gentle temper, and smooth deportment, must have been the cause of his narrative of his religious experience being less satisfactory to the Presbytery. There are also two letters from Mr. Moore himself in reference to his affairs, which are well-written, spirited, and indicative of talent. Displeased with the rigor of his treatment, he sought refuge in the bosom of the Episcopal communion, and became, soon after, the first Rector of Christ's Church, in Lexington.

* *Lex. Obs. and Rep.*, June 17, 1843. *Miller's Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 305. *Marshall's Letter*, 1818.

dollars.* All estimates of the value of lands, however, must be very uncertain, as the market price is liable to fluctuate,

Transylvania enjoyed a moderate degree of prosperity for a number of years; not brilliant indeed, but sound and healthy. At the commencement of the present century, it numbered seventy students; of whom nineteen were in the law school, six in the medical, and forty-five were undergraduates. In the course of a few years Dr. Blythe succeeded Mr. Moore as Acting President. The duties of his station were discharged diligently and efficiently, and the university took a respectable stand. The curriculum of studies was the same as that of Eastern colleges, with the exception of classical learning, which was as yet considered of only secondary importance. It was regarded as the nucleus of sound literature in the West, and its influence upon the intellect and morals of the country would form an interesting theme of speculation.†

The condition of the Finances was not less sound. About the year 1806, the 8,000 acres of land granted in 1780 were sold to advantage, at the rate of \$3 75 per acre, realizing the sum of \$30,000, which was invested in 234 shares of the Bank of Kentucky, and 66 shares of an Insurance Company. This land had been previously let on long leases, at a low rate, by the Trustees of the former Transylvania Seminary, and had in consequence been a very unproductive source of revenue. The leasing of the lands for a long period has been censured as injudicious, and the blame of the measure has been thrown on the Trustees of the University, as an instance of Presbyterian mismanagement, but undeservedly; for it occurred prior to their coming into office.‡

The Trustees had so well husbanded their resources, (now constituting a disposable fund of \$67,532 00,§) that they ventured at length to indulge the long-cherished wish of their hearts, which was to erect an elegant edifice, and to invite to the Presidency some individual distinguished for talents and learning.

But the incongruous union of 1798, although it appeared at the

* Miller's Retrospect, vol. ii. p. 305, Marshall, *ut supra*.

† Flint's Ten Years' Recollections of the Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 67, 68. Butler's Hist. of Ky., p. 187.

‡ Pamphl. No. I. p. 11.

§ Of this amount the new Board acknowledged the receipt, in their Report to the Legislature. Pamphl. No. VI. p. 2.

time to establish affairs on a firm basis; was far from promoting permanent harmony; and occasionally the prelusive flash and the muttering thunder indicated a coming storm. There were two parties in the Board—the friends of evangelical religion, and the open, or disguised, abettors of deism and infidelity. The materials were discordant in the extreme. As long as the Presbyterians had the majority, they were able to repress opposition; but unhappily they relaxed their vigilance, they deserted the lofty ground which they had occupied as conscientious conservators of religious liberty, and suffered themselves to be swayed by worldly policy. As vacancies occurred from time to time, they were filled not by devout persons of the same or like faith, but by prominent political characters, whose popularity and influence would, it was hoped, reflect a sort of *eclat* upon the college. When, at length, a crisis arrived, there were found but seven Presbyterians in the Board, out of twenty-one members.* For such neglect and carnal policy no extenuation can be offered. Let it stand on record as a pregnant warning.

The long-suppressed bickerings grew louder and more frequent as the spirit of infidelity spread more extensively through the community, and the numbers and influence of the party which sympathized with it grew stronger. It was not an unusual occurrence for one party to rally all their forces to thwart and discomfit the other, and, as they were able to secure a majority, to undo at one meeting what had been done by their opponents at the meeting previous.† The Presbyterians, indeed, still had so much the ascendancy as to secure successively the election of the Rev. Drs. Nott, Romeyn and Lindsley, Presbyterian divines, and the Rev. Luther Rice, of the Baptist persuasion, all men well spoken of for their piety, orthodoxy and learning. Unhappily, neither of these gentlemen thought proper to accept the appointment.‡ What happy results might have followed from an acceptance by any of them, we are now better able to appreciate than they were then able to conjecture. Public men should ever consult the public good, not private convenience.

In this state of things, the name of the Rev. Horace Holley, of Boston, was proposed to the Board, by Mr. James

* Pamphl. No. VI. p. 16. † Pamphl. No. V. p. 1. ‡ Pamphl. No. I. p. 11.

Prentiss, (himself a native of New England,) as a man of rare endowments, and admirably adapted to build up the fame of the Institution. He was elected with great cordiality, in 1815, but, at that time, declined the honor.* In November, 1817, he was a second time invited to the Presidency, but not with the same unanimity—a rumor having reached Lexington of his being tainted with Socinian principles. Dr. Dwight was written to upon the subject, and his reply was anything but commendatory. Mr. Holley's own explanations, in answer to letters from Dr. Fishback and Mr. Prentiss, were extremely vague and evasive, laying claim to an indefinite Catholicism, exalted above the trammels of the sects. In spite of opposition, a strong effort was made; and, parties being equal, the election was decided by the vote of a politician of eminence, who had been chosen and relied on as a friend of the Presbyterians, but who betrayed their confidence. Perceiving their inevitable defeat, the disheartened minority either withdrew their opposition or retired from the meeting; so that the final vote was declared to be unanimous. Great was the dissatisfaction throughout a large portion of the community when the result was made known.† But greater was the surprise when it was found that the Legislature, by an arbitrary and uncalled-for interference,‡ turned out the old Board in February, 1818, and appointed in their place a set of men, not one of whom, whatever other merits they might have had, made any pretence to religion.§ Thus was the charter grossly violated in its fifth section, which pro-

* Mem. of Pres. Holley, p. 197. Fishback's Narr., West. Lum. vol. i. p. 554.

† Pamphl. No. I. p. 11; No. V. p. 1; No. VI. p. 14. Fishback's Narr. West. Lum. vol. i. p. 556.

‡ Wednesday, December 3d, 1817, Mr. Francis Johnson, of Warren and Allen, had leave, in the House, to bring in a bill "to reduce the number, and alter the mode of electing the Trustees of Transylvania University." It is worthy of note that *there is no preamble to this bill*, as if conscious of the unreasonableness, as well as unwarrantableness, of the change! It was referred to a committee of four: the mover, Jesse Bledsoe, of Bourbon, William T. Barry, of Fayette, and Harman Bownar, of Woodford and Jessamine. They reported favorably, and the bill became a law, and was signed by Acting (Lieut.) Gov. Slaughter, Feb. 3, 1818. Journ. Sen. No. 1232, pp. 20, 51. Acts of Assembly for 1817, No. 56, pp. 554-556.

§ Marshall's Lett. to Mod. of W. Lex. Phy., March 23d, 1818. (See filed papers.) "The new Board," says he, "contained not a single professor of religion." The new Trustees were thirteen in number, viz: Henry Clay, Edmund Bullock, Robert Trimble, John T. Mason, jun., Robert Wickliffe, James Prentiss, Hubbard Taylor, John Pope, Lewis Sanders, Samuel H. Woodson, John Brown, Charles Humphreys and Thomas Bodley. Acts of Ass. 1817, No. 56, p. 554.

vided that no change or repeal should be made, save "on petitions of the Trustees of the said University, signed by at least eleven of them;"* and the Presbyterians were unrighteously dispossessed of all their property, funds and interests in an Institution of which they had been the original founders and most active patrons.

In the spring of 1818, Mr. Holley visited Kentucky, in order to survey the field and facilitate his decision. Charmed with the warmth and frankness of Kentucky hospitality, delighted with the natural beauties of the country, gratified with the opulent leisure and polished society of Lexington, flattered by the universal attention he received, and, above all, fired with the ambition of placing himself at the head of the teeming West, and becoming the father of literature to a rising nation, his decision was soon made in favor of acceptance. On the 19th of December, of the same year, he was inducted into office, with a salary of \$3,000, and the fees for diplomas.†

The Rev. HORACE HOLLEY, LL.D., (which title he received some time after his accession,) was a native of Salisbury, in the county of Litchfield, Connecticut: a town which has been prolific of distinguished men—the late General Peter B. Porter, the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio, Judge Ambrose Spencer, the Warwick of New York, and several of the name of Holley. He was born February 13, 1781, and was, consequently, at this period, thirty-seven years of age, in the prime of life and vigor. His father was a descendant of Edmund Halley, the English philosopher; he was a self-taught and self-made man—at first a schoolmaster, and afterward a merchant. Horace assisted his father in his store till he was sixteen, when he was sent to Williamstown to school, and afterward to Yale College, where he distinguished himself by his excellence in declamation and debate, and became a favorite of the celebrated President Dwight. In 1803 he graduated, with a high reputation for talents and ac-

* SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted* That the several acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia and Kentucky, now in force, prescribing the powers and directing the proceedings of the Trustees of the said Transylvania Seminary, shall be the laws of the Trustees of the said University, until amended or repealed by the Legislature, *on petitions of the Trustees of the said University, signed by at least eleven of them," &c.* 2 Littell, p. 235. No such petition was ever presented.

† Memoirs, pp. 157, 199.

quirements. He had also recently made a public profession of religion, during a revival of which many of the students were subjects.

After studying law for some time in New York, he relinquished it to study divinity, with Dr. Dwight, in New Haven. Here he embraced the Hopkinsian views, which were then in vogue, but which he did not imbibe from his preceptor. After a brief settlement at Greenfield Hill, he accepted an invitation to Boston, the metropolis of New England, and the seat of literary taste; a situation better suited both to his capacities and his ambition. He was ordained pastor of the Hollis-street Church in March, 1809; and such was his popularity, that a larger and more elegant edifice was soon rendered necessary. In this charge he remained for nine years, greatly admired and beloved. The intoxicating incense of applause, and the temptations of the sphere in which he moved, proved too powerful for the disciple of Hopkins.* His theological views, perhaps already a little loose, gradually underwent a change; and he relinquished that most austere form of Calvinism for the milder opinions of Socinus.

As a classical and general scholar, Dr. Holley was neither profoundly nor extensively read. The exact sciences presented no charms for him. His favorite studies were Criticism, Philology, Belles-Lettres, and the Philosophy of the Mind, especially the latter. Averse to long and severe intellectual labor, he made no new discoveries, nor did he extend the boundaries of human knowledge. With a mind rapid in its operations, and a memory extremely tenacious, his ambition was to dazzle and

* Socinianism made its appearance in Boston in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There was a gradual progress, from restiveness under the strict old faith, to Arminianism, Arianism, and finally, Universalism, under Dr. Chauncey. Priestley's works were freely circulated, and a correspondence maintained with him and other English Socinians. The first man of note who openly espoused these views in Boston was Dr. James Freeman, of King's Chapel. Being refused Episcopal ordination, he was set apart by his congregation, in 1786. They adopted Lindsay's Liturgy. The Rev. Thomas Oxnard, of Portland, also an Episcopalian, followed, with part of his congregation. Mr. Thatcher formed a Unitarian Society at Saco. The new views spread in Salem. In 1794, a minister in Barnstable, and another in Plymouth, became converts. Many wealthy, influential and public men joined the new sect: Gov. Bowdoin, Gen. Knox, Gen. Lincoln, John Adams, &c. Boston became the head-quarters. Nearly all the pulpits in that city resounded with Socinian sentiments. The next step was to get possession of Harvard University. West. Lum. vol. i. pp. 305, 306.

impress. He loved disputation, and excelled in extemporaneous harangues. His sermons were seldom written, or if written, seldom finished. Having a fertile intellect, and a ready command of language, his custom was to shut himself up in his study till a late hour on Saturday evening, and again on Sunday, permitting no interruption, even for the morning or the noontide repast.

Nature had lavishly endowed him with her most attractive gifts. He was remarkable for his symmetry of person, mellifluous voice, great vivacity, fascinating manners, splendid conversational powers, and brilliant oratory. His was the only eloquence that was ever known to betray a staid New England audience into forgetfulness of their wonted propriety, by a noisy demonstration of applause. A premature baldness, while it exposed to view a classical and beautifully modelled head, gave him an appearance of age and dignity.*

Such was the individual to whose hands the fortunes of Transylvania were entrusted. Never had any man a fairer opportunity of building up an enviable fame, or of leaving the impress of his mind on untold generations. His accession was hailed throughout the West as a new era of vitality and vigor; all classes of society united in his welcome; all sects, even the Episcopal and Associate Reformed, threw open their pulpits to him; † and he had it in his power to conciliate friends and disarm prejudice forever. It was at first fondly hoped that he would pursue this course, and some pledges, supposed to have been uttered by him in one of his public discourses, encouraged many of the friends of literature to trust that he would not be a disturber of the popular faith.‡ The ground which it was his professed intention to occupy, was one which has always had attractions for the popular mind; that of a generous and catholic spirit, superior to the narrow trammels of sects, and recognizing in each a branch of the great Christian family.§

* Memoirs of Dr. Holley, *passim*. The above particulars are chiefly culled from Dr. Caldwell's Eulogy, and the sketch furnished by his widow. The demonstration of applause alluded to was extorted by a sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, the only instance, Mr. Pierpont assures us, ever known in New England. *Ib.* p. 47.

† Memoirs, pp. 154, 156, 157, 158. ‡ Pamphl. No. IV. pp. 10, 14.

§ We have Dr. Holley's creed at this period preserved in a letter to one of his late parishioners in Boston, dated from Transylvania University, July 18th, 1819.

The Presbyterians were not among the number of those who were easily deceived. With the alertness of 1798, the Synod of Kentucky took measures in October, 1818, to regain their lost ground. They petitioned the Legislature for a charter for a new college to be located in the town of Danville, but were frustrated by the friends of Transylvania. The charter was so modified as to place the control of the institution and its funds in the hands of the Legislature instead of the Synod.

The confirmation of officers, instruction in the Bible, Church History, and the Evidences of Christianity, and the engrafting, if desired, of a Theological Department, in which alone denominational tenets should be taught, were not conceded; and the very name of the Synod was studiously omitted throughout. Severely as they had been already made to suffer for their easy credulity, it would have been surprising if the Synod had accepted such an emasculated thing. The modified charter was

After some bitter censures on sectarianism and orthodoxy in Kentucky, he adds as follows: "All that I would say to my late congregation would be to repeat the instructions which closed my ministry with them. Observation, common sense, reason, pure morals, our natural and irradicable affections when cultivated and sanctified by intelligence and benevolence, the social virtues, a catholic temper, patience under the contemplation of the follies and prejudices of society, at the same time a love of truth and a judicious zeal for its defence and propagation, piety united to philanthropy, such a mode of Christian faith as makes it harmonize with the works and providence of God, such an interpretation of the Bible as does not institute a war between the revelation by book and that by nature, the language of encouragement from the lips of moderation and experience, a deaf ear to the habitual crimination of others' motives, a strong reliance upon the wisdom of God in the constitution of things, a steady belief that all will come out right at last, good nature and complacency when many about us are angry, and a persevering pursuit of some useful occupation that will afford us a competency in life, are the elements of a wise, religious, and truly orthodox man, and will lead to present happiness and future salvation." *Memoirs*, p. 223. In the above extract the reader will look in vain for a single distinctive evangelical principle.

But a little anecdote, which is presented on unquestionable authority, will shed clearer light upon the subject. A short time before his arrival in Kentucky, Dr. Holley paid a visit to the Rev. Mr. Torrey of Canandaigua, N. Y., who was then a high Arian. In the course of conversation he freely expressed it as his opinion that the apostles and evangelists had written very well for their opportunities, but they had fallen into many mistakes. As for Jesus Christ, he was not to be considered a perfect character, for he had abstained from marriage; an abstinence not a little remarkable, considering his attachment to Martha and Mary!!! Mr. Torrey was so shocked by this loose and frivolous conversation, that it drove him to a re-examination of the original Scriptures, which resulted in his abjuring his error, and embracing anew the Trinitarian system. This anecdote is inserted on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Cogswell, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in East Windsor Seminary, who had it from Mr. T.'s own lips.

unhesitatingly refused, and they resolved to wait in silence for a more propitious time to renew their application.*

Encouraged by this triumph, the next step was to get rid of the Presbyterian members of the Faculty, by means of such changes of hours and duties as they could not submit to without the greatest inconvenience. Dr. Bishop was compelled to give up the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy to the President, and qualify himself for giving instruction in Natural Philosophy. Dr. Blythe, who had been superseded as head of the institution, and Mr. Sharpe, professor of languages, felt themselves compelled to resign. To President Holley were committed the entire charge of the religious and moral instruction of the students, and the duty of preaching in the College Chapel.† The character of these instructions from the pulpit and the chair was such as to justify the worst fears of the evangelical party. At the close of the first session, the Lexington presses being closed except to the language of eulogy, it was in the friendly columns of the *Weekly Recorder*, printed in Chilicothe, Ohio, that a writer under the name of *Spectator*, published some caustic satires. The effect of this fire, though distant, was so vigorous, as to alarm the President and his friends. They felt they had thrown off the mask too soon, and that they must attempt to soothe and conciliate the Presbyterians. Dr. Blythe was recalled, and appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Medical Department; and vacancies that occurred in the Board of Trustees were filled with persons selected from the different evangelical denominations. Among them was Dr. Fishback, a prominent Baptist preacher.‡

Matters now went on smoothly for several years. The President's popularity was unbounded. Even the intractable Presbyterians were reduced to silence. It was part of his plan to put them down effectually by enlisting against them the jealous-

* Pamphl. No. V. p. 3. Min. Syn. vol. ii. pp. 126-132, 136, 138; iii. pp. 11, 16. Charter of Centre College, p. 1. The College went into operation under the charter and the government of its own Trustees. The names proposed for the College were very various, and some of them odd enough. One was the Kentucky College; another, proposed by the Board of the Synod in 1824, was "The American Bible and Missionary College." Filed papers Trans. Pby. The present title was adopted on account of its *central* position.

† Pamphl. No. V. p. 2.

‡ Pamphl. No. V. p. 3. *Western Luminary*, vol. i. p. 570.

ies of rival sects, especially of the Baptists, with whom he sought to contract a close alliance, to recommend himself to them by the circumstance of his mother being the daughter of a Baptist preacher.* Everything conspired to swell his triumph. The whole country rang with praises of the University and its brilliant President. To this the revival of the Law and Medical Schools contributed not a little. It was effected mainly by his personal influence and unwearied effort. In the Law School he voluntarily delivered a course of lectures on Natural Law himself without any additional fee. William T. Barry, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, and Postmaster-General of the United States, was appointed Professor of Civil Law ; and the gifted but erratic Judge Bledsoe, Professor of Common and Statute Law. The Medical School was manned with six professors, among whom Dr. Blythe occupied the chair of Chemistry ; Dr. Dudley, the most eminent surgeon in the West, filled the chair of Anatomy and Surgery ; and Dr. Caldwell, the apostle of Phrenology in the West, was invited from Philadelphia to the chair of the Institutes of Medicine. Dr. C. S. Rafinesque, an indefatigable Natural Historian and learned Antiquarian, was another distinguished member of the corps of Professors. Nothing could be more rapid than the remarkable rise of this Medical School in public favor. In five years from its revival, the number of its students amounted to 234.†

Of a gay and social turn, and connected with a lady whose varied accomplishments fitted her to adorn such a scene,‡ the President's house was the resort of all who had any pretensions to taste, refinement, literature, or political distinction. His ample salary, doubled in value by being paid in specie instead of depreciated Commonwealth paper, enabled him to make frequent and sumptuous entertainments ; while statuary, painting, music, cards, and dancing, attracted the young and the gay, and enlisted troops of zealous partisans. Strangers spent there their

* Letter of "A Baptist," in the West. Lum. vol. i. p. 637. Waller Bullock, Esq., of Fayette county is a living witness, the President having unfolded his plan inadvertently in his hearing.

† Memoirs, p. 200. West. Lum. vol. i. p. 633.

‡ The late Mrs. Mary Austin Holley was a kinswoman of that enterprising man, Col. Stephen F. Austin, the chief founder of the colony of Texas. Of her visit to the colony in 1831, she published a lively description in a volume of "Letters."

pleasantest hours, and, captivated by his amenity, went everywhere spreading his praises.*

The Legislature, too, before whom Dr. Holley preached, and whose good will he won by his consummate tact, at various times extended their liberality to the University. In 1819, they appropriated the bonus of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank for two years, amounting to \$3,000; in 1820, \$5,000 to the Medical School for books and apparatus; and in 1821, upon the representation of the Trustees that they were on the verge of bankruptcy, half the profits of the Branch Bank of the Commonwealth at Lexington, amounting, nominally, to \$20,000 but really worth only half that sum in specie.†

Nevertheless, besides the public dissatisfaction on account of the embarrassment of the finances, the sermons in the chapel had excited much unfavorable comment; and, in order to tranquilize the alarm, it was judged expedient to discontinue them, on the pretext of the President's other onerous and multifarious duties.‡ But the storm was only lulled. Its sullen roar might be heard in the distance, and the white-caps were already cresting the advancing billows. Soon was it to burst in thunder on his head.

The immediate occasion of the commotion was a Funeral Discourse, pronounced by President Holley on the death of Col. Morrison, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and one of the most wealthy and influential citizens of Lexington.

Col. JAMES MORRISON was born in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1755. The son of an Irish emigrant, his native strength of mind gradually elevated him far above his humble origin. He served for six years in the army of the Revolution, and distinguished himself as one of Morgan's Select Corps of Riflemen. After the war he went into business in Pittsburgh, and rose to be Sheriff of the county. In 1792 he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, then presenting an inviting field to the adventurous and enterprising. Here he filled, in succession, the high and important trusts of Land Commissioner, Representative in the Legislature, Supervisor of the revenue, under President Adams; Navy Agent, Contractor for the North-western

* Memoirs, pp. 218, 240. Pamphl. No. V. p. 4.

† Report of Comm. of Legisl. 1842, p. 2.

‡ Dr. Fishback's letter to Mr. Boon, West. Lum. vol. i. p. 586.

Army during the war of 1812, Quarter-Master-General, President of the Lexington Branch of the United States Bank, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania University. Col. Morrison was a man of commanding appearance, stern but courteous; of great decision of character, native talent, wide experience, and considerable reading. He acquired immense wealth, which he disbursed in elegant hospitality, judicious patronage of deserving young men, and the promotion of letters. In the winter of 1822 he repaired to Washington to obtain the settlement of a claim against government to the amount of \$23,000, for moneys advanced by him when contractor, out of his own pocket, in which he succeeded; but was seized with a disease which terminated fatally on the 23d of April, 1823, in the 68th year of his age. Although he was thought to incline towards Unitarianism, there is reason to believe that his death-bed was cheered by a more evangelical faith. He received the visits of the resident clergymen of Washington, and joined with them devoutly in religious exercises. His well-used and copiously marked New Testament lay always on his bed, and he continued to read it, according to his wont, as long as his strength permitted.*

* See Dr. Holley's Funeral Discourse, pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 31: and Mr. Clay's Letter in the appendix, p. 34. All doubts, as to the evangelical character of Col. Morrison's death-bed exercises, must be considered as put at rest by the following extract of a letter to the author from the Rev. Dr. Laurie, of Washington. "I had," says he, "the privilege of being often with him during his last illness, and was present when he drew his last breath. I was present as a friend, and in my official capacity: and I am sure that had he expressed any belief in Unitarian doctrines, or manifested any leaning that way, I could not have forgotten it. It would have been my duty to have endeavored to remove them, and the issue would not have been obliterated: My firm belief is, that he had no doubts either as to the great doctrines of salvation, or as to his own interest in them, and in that divine Saviour, from whose person, and obedience, and death, they derive all their importance: and the correctness of this belief is corroborated by a conversation I had yesterday on the subject, with the eldest daughter of the lady with whom Col. Morrison boarded, and in whose house he died. She was then of full age, and a member of the Church, and had ample means of being acquainted, as well as myself, with Col. Morrison's views of the all-important subjects of Christ's divinity, and the doctrine of salvation through his atoning blood. Her distinct recollection is, that he died most happily in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of those blessed doctrines which alone can sustain and cheer the soul in the prospect of death and eternity. One of her expressions was, that he was a firm Old School believer; that is, his belief was that of the Presbyterians of the Old School." In addition to this testimony, the author records with pleasure the similar favorable impression made upon the Rev. John Breckenridge, then one of the Chaplains to Congress, who also visited Col. Morrison, and from whose own lips this information was obtained.

In consequence of his long and extensive acquaintance with the western country, Col. Morrison had been able to acquire lands in Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, to the amount of 78,886 acres, estimated by him, with his other real estate, exclusive of bank stock and other resources, at \$175,073. Leaving no children to inherit his princely fortune, and having ever been a warm friend of Transylvania University, he bequeathed to it \$20,000, to found a Library, or a Professorship, bearing his name, of which the Trustees elected the latter. He also left it a residuary legacy, upon the demise of his widow,* which was estimated at about \$40,000, to found another edifice for the use of the University, to be called Morrison College.† Upon the destruction of the old edifice by fire a few years after, the executor, Mr. Clay, thought himself justified in anticipating this fund for the erection of the present elegant structure, at a cost of about \$30,000.

In honor of so munificent a patron of letters, the Trustees, Faculties, and Students of the University, together with a great concourse of citizens, repaired in procession to the Episcopal church, on Monday, the 19th of May, to hear a Funeral Discourse from President Holley. In this discourse, which was written in an agreeable and flowing style, the speaker took occasion to sneer bitterly at the bigotry of Sectarians, and to recommend Socinian sentiments under the cover of the honored dead; whom he described as a liberal and large-minded Christian, regarding virtue as the most acceptable homage to the Deity, and esteeming Papist, Protestant, and Pagan, as having equal claims to the divine favor.‡ Although he afterwards disclaimed the imputation, some passages were interpreted as not equivocally teaching that education was the passport to Heaven, and gave to religion and immortality their chief value; and that such an act as Jefferson's founding of the University of Virginia, was not only an admirable illustration of the dignity of retire-

* Esther, daughter of the Hon. John Montgomery, of Carlisle, Pa., an early and distinguished patron of Dickinson College, over which his son-in-law, the late Dr. Robert Davidson, presided after the decease of the learned and witty Dr. Nisbet. The late Hon. John Montgomery, mayor of the city of Baltimore, was her brother.

† See the printed copy of the Will, pp. 4, 11, 23.

‡ Disc. pp. 18, 19, 20. On page 19th is an allusion in this connection to the infidel fable of the wolf muddying the stream above.

ment, but was also "an effectual, honorable preparation for eternity."*

As might have been expected, this production elicited a sharp newspaper controversy, and, taken in connection with the publication of the "*Transylvania Theses*," or Latin exercises of the Students, shed no doubtful light on the character of the instruction given in the University. Some of these Theses defended the propositions "that revealed may be called only a picture of rational religion, since it has only the same principles expressed in words; and that either will conduct men to Heaven, provided they faithfully follow it."†

In October the Synod sat in Lexington, and some of their transactions attracted no small attention and obloquy. They gave great offence by stating, in the Narrative of Religion, the prevalence of infidelity in Lexington and other prominent places. But what drew down the severest indignation was the renewal of the project of a rival college in Danville. Conceiving circumstances more propitious than before, the Synod resolved to establish, without delay, an institution under their own control, in which Biblical instruction should be given, and the Trustees and teachers should be of their own communion. Six Solicitors were appointed, and nine Trustees. The Trustees were directed to meet at Danville at the end of the month, with authority to confer with the Trustees of Centre College, and effect a reorganization if practicable, and in case the Legislature should refuse to grant a charter, then to go on independently. The Conference took place, and every thing was arranged harmoniously to meet the views of the Synod.‡

* Disc. pp. 12, 24, 26, 35.

† Pamphl. No. III. p. 5.

‡ Pamphl. No. V. p. 5. Min. Syn. vol. iii, pp. 66-73. The names of the Trustees appointed are as follows:—William W. Martin, Archibald Cameron, William K. Stuart, Thomas Cleland, D.D., Nathan H. Hall, John McFarland, Robert Stuart, ministers; and James Stonestreet and Benjamin Mills.

Some passages in the Report of the Committee, on the expediency and practicability of the plan, are worthy of preservation. It stated, that in consequence of the Church neglecting the baptized youth, the ministry was ill supplied, while other professions were crowded. From 1620 to 1720, a period when the Church paid attention to the education of youth, more than *half* of all the graduates of the American Colleges entered the ministry; from 1720 to 1770, *one-third*; from 1770 to 1800, *one-fifth*; from 1800 to 1810, *one-sixth*; and for several years, in the western country, it might be safely said, not *one-twentieth*. The irreligious had so managed and taken advantage of the remissness of the Church, as to get into their hands both colleges and elementary schools. Min. Syn. vol. iii. p. 67.

While the Synod as a body were pursuing such energetic measures, some of its members started a project on their own individual responsibility, which proved no inconsiderable means of annoyance. The presses of Lexington being closed, on the principles of Demetrius the Ephesian, to everything but panegyric, the Rev. John McFarland, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Paris, twelve miles distant, resolved to issue a periodical under the title of "The Literary Pamphleteer," for the purpose of exposing the mal-administration of affairs in the State University. Six numbers were published in the course of the winter.* The first number contained a stringent article from the pen of the Rev. Robert Stuart, under the signature of "A Citizen," in which he pointed out the wasteful expenditure of the funds, and animadverted upon the character of the President as an abettor of irreligious and deistical sentiments, and a notorious frequenter of the ball-room, the theatre, and the race-course. This bold attack, vigorously followed up, made a great sensation. The Legislature took up the subject, and a Committee of Investigation was appointed. But the Trustees interposed so many delays and difficulties, that the Committee were only able to report a shameful negligence of duty on the part of the Treasurer and Clerk, who "had for many years kept their accounts with little regard to method or regularity." The rising of the Legislature two days afterward, prevented any farther action on the subject; the promised vouchers and explanations were never produced; and the debt of \$20,000, in 1821, remains unaccounted for to this day.†

In addition to financial prodigality, startling disclosures were made of the nature of the President's instruction to his classes, attested by the certificates of certain alumni, respectable ear-witnesses, whose religious feelings had been shocked in the extreme. It appeared that the President was in the habit of holding up to ridicule the evangelical tenets of human depravity, the efficacy of prayer, the real personality of the devil, the creation

* It appeared as an octavo of 16 pages. The imprint bore the curious information, "Price 6½ cents Specie, or 12½ Commonwealth." The editor complained that of the copies of the first number sent to Lexington, to Frankfort for the use of the Assembly, and elsewhere, a great number were intercepted by some unfriendly hands, and never reached the persons for whom they were intended. Pamph. No. V. p. 6.

† Journal of Senate, Jan. 6, 1824.

of the world in six days, and the doctrine of Christ crucified. It was part of his instructions in morals, when speaking of the passions, "Young gentlemen, whatever you find within you, cherish it, for it is a part of your nature; restrain it not."* A strange infatuation seemed to have blinded the President's eyes to the indiscretion of such a course, and to the folly of braving public opinion; surrounded as he was by numbers whose confidence a wiser policy would have led him to conciliate, even at the expense of suppressing his private sentiments.†

Such disclosures as these, not made in a covert way, but openly supported by responsible names, could not be published without exciting some sensation. To calm the tumult, a portion of the Senior Class were induced to put forth a counter-statement, denying the imputations of the "Citizen," as false and groundless.‡ Four of the Professors also, from the Law and Medical Faculties, Professors Barry, Bledsoe, Dudley, and Cald-

* Pamph. No. IV. p. 5. No. VI. p. 10-15. See also an attempted defence by a partial pen, in the Appendix to *Memoirs*, pp. 217-221. The open and undisguised assaults made by President Holley upon evangelical religion were so virulent, that the reader would scarcely credit the narrative without illustrations, which, revolting as is the task, shall be given as a specimen. Ridiculing one day the doctrine of human depravity, says a graduate, he told the following anecdote: "One of those men, (a believer in the above doctrine,) and a Quaker, put up at the same public house for the purpose of lodging all night. After supper, they were both shown into the same room in which to rest, and as was his custom, the former knelt beside his bed and commenced saying his prayers, in which he repeatedly confessed himself a sinner, deserving God's punishment, &c. After he had finished, the Quaker took his hat for the purpose of retiring; "Are you not to rest with me to-night?" said the religious man to the Quaker. "No, sir," said he, "I cannot sleep with such a scoundrel as thou confessest thyself to be." Pamph. No. IV. p. 5. The next example is as little favorable to the elegant style of the Professor of Belles-Lettres, as to his piety. "We were present, and heard Mr. Holley ask, 'What do you think of those who go about the country like braying asses, and telling God what poor hell-deserving scoundrels they are, and who burn brimstone under the noses of the people.' [Signed,] GEO. W. ASHBURIDGE, SIMEON CRANE." Pamph. No. VI. p. 11. These two gentlemen were graduates of 1823; they afterwards became useful and respected ministers in the Presbyterian Church, and their memory is held in honor by all who knew them.

† His panegyrist, Dr. Caldwell, acknowledges that he cannot be exonerated from blame in this respect, and adds, "Truth compels me to record it as an instructive example, and a solemn warning of the fate that awaits the most munificent endowments, and the highest competencies, when a becoming deference to public sentiment is unyieldingly withheld. For to that unyieldingness, carried to excess, is to be attributed, in the present instance, not a little of the catastrophe, ['his melancholy failure,' just before alluded to,] which both we ourselves, and the community at large, so fervently lament." Caldwell's *Discourse*, *Memoirs*, p. 73.

‡ Pamph. No. III. p. 13.

well, felt the juncture so fraught with peril, that they volunteered a publication, declaring their entire persuasion that the President had never directly or indirectly inculcated on his pupils opinions unfriendly to sound Christianity. The public smiled at such testimonials from gentlemen who, however great were their admitted learning and abilities, had never been suspected of erring on the side of excessive devotion.*

The Trustees, waking at last to a sense of their danger, endeavored to regain confidence by supplying the defect in the religious instruction of the University. After long and earnest discussions, protracted through several months, they adopted on the 5th of April, 1824, a plan for having divine service performed in the chapel every Sabbath morning, in turn, by a clergyman of one of the prominent religious denominations in the town, viz: the Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist.† The two Presbyterian pastors, Nathan H. Hall and John Breckenridge, regarding the invitation as a hollow stratagem, decidedly refused to have anything to do with it.‡ Dr. Fishback very soon grew heartily sick of it himself. Visitors, by the plan, having been permitted to ask questions during the examinations on religion and ethics, he was brought on one of these occasions, into direct collision with the President, on points connected with divine revelation. Convinced of the fruitlessness of preaching in the chapel when the President could neutralize every discourse through the week, he resigned his post both as preacher and Trustee. No sooner was he known to have taken a stand against Dr. Holley, than vituperation was showered upon him as plentifully as panegyric before; and he was abused in unmeasured terms, for prejudice, vanity, fickleness, and becoming a tool of the Presbyterians.§

The publication of the Plan of Reform was the signal for a deluge of small pamphlets, replete with irony and satire, which proved, like those light darts with which Marius contrived to

* Pres. Holley and Infidelity, p. 5.

† This measure had been originally proposed more than a year before by Dr. Fishback, and was modified by the President's adding the Roman Catholics. See Dr. Fishback's letter in the *Western Luminary*, vol. i. p. 585. Mem. of Holley, pp. 227-234.

‡ *Memoirs*, p. 234. *West. Lum.* vol. i. p. 601.

§ *Lett. in West. Lum.* vol. i. pp. 570, 587, 588.

entangle and embarrass his opponents,* more annoying than weapons of heavier calibre. The President's friends, on their part, besides caustic communications in the *Western Monitor*, published a pamphlet in his vindication, magnifying the services he had rendered to the cause of letters.†

But vain were now all attempts to oppose the swelling tide of public sentiment. This was a luckless year for the President. He had the mortification of seeing three rival colleges starting up around him into vigorous life. The man in the Faculty whom he most disliked, Professor Bishop, (doctorated the following year by Princeton,) left him to assume the Presidency of Miami University, in Ohio. The hated Synod, too, at last succeeded in getting their institution, with a decidedly religious character, under way; and the Roman Catholic Bishop, Flaget, had immediately thereupon obtained a charter, still more favorable, for St. Joseph's College at Bardstown. So abortive proved the Plan of Reform which had hoped, by the bribe of admitting Romish priests into the University chapel, to give a sop to the ever wakeful Cerberus.

The amended charter of Centre College was all that could be desired, although it met with violent opposition previous to its passage.‡ The old Trustees, finding their funds inadequate,

* The titles of these pamphlets were as follows: Extracts from a Unitarian Catechism; pp. 12. President Holley not the Transylvania University; pp. 19. President Holley and Infidelity; pp. 8. Remarks on the Controversy, by a Dissident Observer; pp. 8. Two Letters on the Plan of Reform, by Omicron; pp. 16. Two Letters to Horace Holley, LL.D., by Omega; pp. 23, &c.

† Memoirs, app. pp. 191, 202.

‡ The prominent opponent was a Baptist, whose family connections were deeply and personally interested in the prosperity of the University. He quoted from a great number of books, and made a violent phillippic, to show that the Presbyterians on the other side of the Atlantic had always burned with the lust of domination, and the desire of uniting Church and State. When he had ended, a member, (Col. James Davidson, now the State Treasurer,) a man of much dry humor and a deep sonorous voice, gravely told a simple anecdote, by way of illustrating the terrors which had been so awfully presented. An Irish redemptioner in Maryland lost himself one evening in the woods. He had heard a great deal of the Indians, and the novel sights and sounds around him inspired him with such alarm, that he climbed up into a tree for safety, and there spent the sleepless night. On being found the next day, he told through what perils he had passed. The fire-flies he mistook for the torches of the savages in quest of him; while his agitated fancy interpreted the doleful screams of the Whip-poor-wits into menaces of destruction, crying, "whip him well! whip him well! cut and slash!" "and the fire flew all the time," he said, "like the de'il." In short, "he did not know what would have become of him, had it not been for the swate birds of heaven, (meaning the *bull-frogs*,) who kept calling out,

were permitted to transfer it to "the body of divines and elders of the Presbyterian Church of Kentucky," for the consideration of endowing it with \$20,000, the payment of every fourth of which sum should entitle them to the election of three trustees. No exclusive privileges were conferred, but only the right to control their own funds. Religious instruction might be given, and a theological department added, but no pupil was to be rejected on account of his religious opinions. The Legislature reserved the right of alteration and repeal, should they think the public good required either, in which case the funds should be restored to the Synod, subject to their disposition.*

The Synod also memorialized the Legislature, by their committee, Messrs. I. Reed, James Marshall, and Thomas P. Smith, claiming indemnification for the funds of which they had been violently and unrighteously dispossessed in 1818.† But this the

· Motheration! motheration!" "Now," said Col. Davidson, "when I heard the honorable member conjuring up all those dreadful hobgoblins, they appeared to me of the same imaginary character as the poor Irishman's terrors, and I felt an irresistible impulse to rise up in my place, and call out, 'Motheration! motheration!'" This ludicrous anecdote, narrated in his driest manner, and with his gravest intonations, convulsed the house with laughter. The serious and inflammatory speech on the opposite side was effectually neutralized, and the friends of the bill, adroitly seizing the propitious opportunity, hurried it through its final passage, before the effect could be counteracted. This circumstance, trivial as some may regard it, is here inserted, not only as a historical verity, but for the purpose also of showing on what slender threads sometimes hang the destinies of great events.

* Acts of Assembly, No. 224, pp. 64, 65. See also the printed charter, and compact between the Trustees and Synod, pp. 3, 4.

† An abstract of this important document is here furnished:

The Memorial states the fact on evidence that the Presbyterians gave the first impulse to a system of liberal education in Kentucky. It names as its zealous patrons: Rev. John Todd, Col. John Todd, Rev. David Rice, and Hon. Caleb Wallace. The library of Kentucky Academy had been given by Rev. J. Todd; and a telescope is specially named, the gift of Mr. Swan of France. The Board of Kentucky Academy consisted almost entirely of Presbyterian ministers and elders. This library is now in Transylvania University. Six thousand acres of land went with the Academy at the union. The amount in money, books, &c., exclusive of land, then transferred, was \$7,662. The terms of agreement are referred to as existing in the archives. [Unhappily the capitol at Frankfort was destroyed by an accidental fire, Nov. 4th, 1824. Many books and papers were consumed, and among them the document alluded to. West. Lum. i. 281.] The charter was not to be altered except on the petition of eleven of the trustees. This condition had not been fulfilled. The Legislature of 1817-18, repealed this charter *against* the consent of the Board, or rather transferred it to other trustees, along with the property.

The Memorial then answers objections, as that the University still answers its purpose. It affirms—1. That the exact physical sciences were neglected for ornamental branches. 2. The President's salary was high, and boarding so

Legislature refused, regarding the grant of the new charter as sufficient indemnification for their grievances.

The next session, Nov. 7, 1825, Governor Desha in his message recommended an inquiry by the Legislature into the disproportionate salaries and extravagant expenditures of the State University, which, ever since the year 1818, the Legislature considered themselves as having taken "into their more immediate protection."* He complained that the State had lavished her money for the benefit of the rich to the exclusion of the poor; (in order to understand this, it must be borne in mind that the price of tuition had been advanced as high as \$60 per annum, besides the other fees;) and that the only result was to add to the aristocracy of wealth the advantage of superior knowledge.† Dr. Holley repaired to the capitol to counteract the adverse influences exerted against him, but finding the case hopeless, retired in despair, without making any attempt.‡

Troubles began to thicken. The intrigue designed to inveigle the Baptists into an alliance proved a signal failure. The Baptists opened their eyes at last to the true character and designs of the President, and were not to be duped by the bugbear of Presbyterian intolerance. They remembered that in Virginia the Presbyterians and Baptists had fought side by side to break the yoke of the establishment and establish religious equality.§ They felt indignant that the Episcopalians, (to which sect Dr. Holley and his chief supporters were attached,) with but three or four churches, should govern Transylvania University, while they, with 500 churches and 40,000 members, should not have a

expensive as to suit only the wealthy. 3. Reprehensible amusements were encouraged. 4. The President held irreligious sentiments.

The Synod do not beg the repeal of the act of 1818, but only to ascertain the value of money, books, land, &c., to which they are entitled, and to pay it over to Centre College, or if the Treasury be low, then an equivalent in vacant lands. This they consider the more evidently equitable, inasmuch as Centre College had been required to refund \$2,000 before given by the State. [This money was to be paid over to the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. Acts of Assembly, No. 224, p. 65.]

The Memorial was dated Shelbyville, Oct. 18, 1824; and was signed by order of Synod, by Gideon Blackburn, Moderator, and John Breckenridge and James C. Barnes, Clerks pro tem. See filed papers of Transylvania Pby.

* This was the language used by the joint committee of Visitation in 1826-7.

† Journal H. R. No. 395, p. 16.

‡ Memoirs, app. p. 266.

§ The Hon. Caleb Wallace, Judge of the Court of Appeals, had headed the Presbyterian petition, and conducted it through its passage. West. Lum. vol. i. p. 637.

single trustee in the Board; the only one they had had since 1818 having been placed under a moral necessity to withdraw. The atrocious aspersions cast on that prominent individual they resented as a reproach on the sect, and rallied to defend his character. Dr. Fishback was himself called out by their urgency to publish a narrative of affairs since the accession of Dr. Holley, with a vindication of his own course. This narrative was reprinted, from the *Western Monitor*, in the *Western Luminary*, a periodical shortly before established as an organ of the Presbyterians; and was followed by a number of pungent articles. In December, 1824, an important movement occurred in the shape of a Memorial to the Legislature, praying for a Reform in the University on broad principles. It was got up and circulated by Major William Boon, a Baptist, and signed by some of the most substantial citizens of Fayette county, the bulk of whom were of the same connection.*

Matters had now verged to a crisis. Harassed by the reiteration of charges affecting his moral and religious character; having become obnoxious to one of the great political parties of the day;† chagrined at the continually diminishing number of students;‡ and despairing of further aid from the State, the

* See the petition of the Baptists; Boon's Letter to Fishback, calling on him for explanations; Fishback's Narrative; Boon's defence of Fishback; Letter of "A Baptist," in which he says, "the eyes of the Baptists are getting pretty well opened;" a sharp correspondence between the editor and Dr. Caldwell, &c., in the *West. Lum.* vol. i. pp. 428, 440, 460, 554, 601, 636, 637. The *Western Luminary* was started in Lexington by the Rev. John Breckenridge and Cabell R. Harrison, July 14th, 1824. It was printed by Thomas T. Skillman, in weekly numbers of 16 pages 8vo., at \$3.00 per annum. Its subscribers increased in nine months to 900. Threats were at one time dropped, and covert hints of violence, i. 654. It afterwards assumed the ordinary folio form, and for a series of years did good service to the cause of truth and orthodoxy, until the decease of Mr. Thomas Skillman, when, after wavering some time between old and new school sympathies, it was finally merged in the *Cincinnati Journal*, a warm *New School* paper.

† The Relief and Anti-Relief parties were about this time warring with frenzied bitterness, and the President was accused of permitting political speeches to be made from the rostrum of the college chapel. *Memoirs*, app. p. 236.

‡ The number of undergraduates had declined from 138 in 1822, to 107, in 1825; a decrease of 31 in the department under his special supervision. The total number reported as in attendance in the University was indeed an imposing array—no less than 400; but of these 234 were medical students, 32 law students, and 27 in the grammar-school, leaving but 107 in the College proper. *West. Lum.* vol. i. p. 633. In March, 1827, the falling off was still more deplorable, the president in his final report stating the total number to be 286; of whom 190 were in the medical class, 55 undergraduates, and 39 in the grammar-school. *Memoirs*, app. p. 207.

President signified to the Trustees his intention to resign, January, 1826. Yielding to the earnest solicitations of his friends he recalled this letter soon after, but the next year, finding the prospect still discouraging, he again tendered his resignation early in 1827, and it was accepted.*

On the 27th of March, 1827, just nine years since, buoyant with hope and fired with generous ambition, he first entered Lexington, Dr. Holley slowly and sadly turned his back on the Garden of Kentucky, a defeated and disappointed man. But amidst all his mortifying reverses he was consoled by the faithful attachment of his adherents. Lexington idolized him as her brightest ornament; and he was escorted for a considerable distance on his way by a procession of sorrowing pupils, citizens, and friends, little dreaming, any of them, that "against the day of his burying it was done."

He now bent all his efforts to carry into execution a project designed for the sons of the wealthy planters of Louisiana, with whom he was an unbounded favorite. It was entitled, "a plan of education for the few who can afford it," and required for its completion a space of six or eight years. It embraced excursions to London, Edinburgh, Rome, and other cities of Europe, noted for their attractions in taste or the fine arts, Paris being the centre and chief place of residence. On his arrival, however, at New Orleans, he was persuaded to abandon his plan and to attempt to resuscitate the decayed college of New Orleans. For this purpose a fund was proposed, of which \$26,000 were subscribed in a few weeks, to procure the necessary buildings and furniture, the subscribers retaining the title, and Dr. Holley having the sole control and receiving all the profits. With his usual sanguine impetuosity, and unmindful of the danger of exposure under the relaxing fervor of a southern sun, he entered vigorously upon the enterprise, engaged a suitable house, made all his preparations, and was momentarily expecting to matriculate a hundred and fifty, if not two hundred, students, when he was prostrated by the bilious fever of the country. Upon his recovery he suddenly decided—contrary to advice, as he was now considered acclimated—to leave the sunny, sickly, debilitating South during the summer months, and repair north-

* *Memoirs*, app. pp. 208, 215, 234.

ward, in hopes that the sea air would invigorate him. "One breath of air," he exclaimed, "from the northern shore of freedom, though borne upon the eastern gale, were worth all the boasted luxuries of the ever-smiling, violet-scented South, alluring but to destroy." But when they had been a few days out at sea, in the midst of a terrific storm, Dr. Holley, with others of the passengers and crew, was seized with the yellow fever, the seeds of which had been unwittingly introduced on board; and on the fifth day of his illness, the 31st day of July, his body was committed to the deep. Such was the end of this highly-gifted genius, the Abelard of the West. No sculptured marble marked the spot of his last repose; the rocky Tortugas were his only monument; and the hot gale, as it swept over the water-loving mangroves, sighed his requiem.*

The manner in which Dr. Holley met the approach of death remains shrouded in mystery. On the one hand it has been positively asserted that he was appalled and unmanned by the prospect;† on the other, it has been testified by his widow that his enemies can gather nothing hence as a ground of triumph.‡ To what weight the testimony of one who, according to her own acknowledgment, was sick and unconscious all the time, is entitled;§ or what allowance must be made in the judgment of charity for the influence of that delirium which clouded his last moments,|| are points which must be left with the candid reader.

Melancholy is the story which has been narrated—to the Christian moralist most melancholy. There is needed but one additional touch to complete the sombre sketch. It would seem as if Divine Providence had ordered, in solemn vindication of its offended majesty, that the only son of the man who had almost deified human reason and made its cultivation a passport to heaven, should become an inmate of the Asylum for Lunatics in the theatre of his father's glory, on the funds of the institution.

The fortunes of Transylvania from this time languished for a series of years. Rival after rival started up in successful com-

* Memoirs, app. pp. 269–290.

† This is stated on the authority of the venerable Dr. Joshua T. Wilson, of Cincinnati.

‡ Memoirs, app. p. 294.

|| Memoirs, app. p. 290.

§ Memoirs, app. pp. 290, 293.

petition. Through the obstinate impolicy of the trustees in selecting a President in whom the religious community could not confide, every leading sect in the State was driven to establish a college of its own; and instead of a single towering, complete, well-manned, and crowded University, deserving of the name, the strength and the resources of the country were frittered into fractions; and the Presbyterians struggled to maintain a half-endowed college at Danville, the Roman Catholics at Bardstown, the Cumberlandians at Princeton, the Methodists at Augusta, the Baptists at Georgetown, and the Campbellites at Harrodsburg.

The presidential chair was successively occupied by Dr. Alva Woods, a Baptist clergyman, and the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, and Dr. Thomas W. Coit, Episcopalian divines; but neither of these gentlemen, although men of talents and learning, succeeded in repairing the broken fortunes of Morrison College, or retained the office longer than about two years; each incumbency being followed by an interregnum of like duration.

The trustees had, by this time, become completely sensible of the error committed in 1818,* and were now willing to allure back, a second time, if possible, the Presbyterian interest. With this view they invited, successively, Doctors John C. Young, Lewis W. Green, and Robert J. Breckenridge; and upon their declining, the writer of these pages, who was inaugurated Nov. 2d, 1840. The mere acquisition of a Presbyterian Principal, it was soon found, however, would not win back the Presbyterian interest in a day; absorbed especially, as it now was, in a scheme to increase the endowment of Centre College to one hundred thousand dollars; and this experiment succeeded no better than the former ones. So numerous and vexatious were the embarrassments by which the new President speedily found himself surrounded, that after a vigorous, but ineffectual struggle, he resigned in March, 1842. He was immediately appointed by Governor Letcher, Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State, but this honor he thought proper to decline.

In the ensuing fall the college was re-opened, under the patronage of the Methodist General Conference; to whose control

* See the Report of the Trustees to the Committee of the Legislature, Jan. 28th, 1842, p. 7.

it was completely transferred by the Board of Trustees.* The Rev. Dr. Bascom was placed at its head. In a short time, in consequence of the vigorous co-operation of the Conference, the college bade fair to rival, in numbers at least, its palmy days. Since the late schism in the Methodist body, the control has been lodged in the hands of "the Methodist Church, South."

Meantime Centre College was nobly struggling with difficulties, and emerging into independence and prosperity. The Synod fulfilled their obligation, and came into the possession of the right of appointing all the trustees, and of every other right vested in the charter. In 1828, on the 13th of October, they attached to it a theological department, or seminary, modelled after that of Princeton, and designed to include three professors. Twenty thousand dollars were to be provided as a fund for a professorship of Didactic and Polemic Theology, and on the next day, the Rev. James K. Burch, a divine deeply versed in theology and the constitution of the Church† was inaugurated. The raising of the necessary funds, however, and carrying out of the plan, were encumbered with so many difficulties, that after a brief trial, the scheme was abandoned in 1831, and has never been resumed.‡

The first president of Centre College was the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, D.D.,§ who served from July, 1823, till September, 1826. On his retiring, the Rev. David C. Proctor acted temporarily for a year; when Dr. Gideon Blackburn was inducted

* This was but the consummation of a secret negotiation, commenced sometime before, but abruptly broken off for want of concert; as was subsequently discovered. The compact, when completed, failed to receive the sanction of the Legislature, but was carried into effect notwithstanding. Nor was it effected without opposition. It was opposed in the Kentucky Conference; it met with the frown of the Ohio Conference; it was deprecated by the citizens of Augusta and the trustees of Augusta College; who presented a remonstrance to the Legislature, urging that it was a repudiation of plighted faith to that college, "to the support of which," in the words of the charter, "they, (i. e. the Ohio and Kentucky Conferences,) are pledged to use their utmost and undivided efforts." Memorial of the Trustees, pp. 2, 3, 15. It was opposed in the Committee of the House of Representatives, by the friends of Augusta College; who, uniting with the friends of the President of Transylvania, (who had also sent up a remonstrance, on the part of himself and Faculty,) strangled the bill, proposing its sanction, in the birth. See Memorial appended to the Visiting Committee's Report, Jan. 19, 1842, pp. 10-13. Memorial of the Trustees of Augusta College, Feb. 3, 1843. Reply of the Commissioners of the Kentucky Conference, 1843.

† Min. Syn. vol. iii. p. 153 iv. pp. 6, 64, 69, 72, 99.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. iv. p. 247.

§ Now President of Oakland College, Mississippi.

into office.* After three years he resigned, and was succeeded, November, 1830, by the Rev. John C. Young, D.D., under whose ripe scholarship and efficient administration the college has attained a proud rank among the institutions of the West; numbering now nearly two hundred students.

Centre College, like many others, has, at various times, been severely crippled for want of funds, notwithstanding the great exertions made in its behalf; until, at length, in 1840, stimulated, no doubt, by the munificence of Lexington to Transylvania, and urged by a desperate emergency, the Synod took measures to raise a sum sufficient to increase the endowment to one hundred thousand dollars, a large portion of which has been secured.† In 1846, finding that the expenditure somewhat exceeded the income, while at the same time an additional professor was imperatively needed, the Synod resolved to found, within the year, sixty free scholarships of five hundred dollars each, (thirty thousand dollars,) payable in five annual instalments; and urged each church, that was able to support a pastor, to become responsible for one or more scholarships.‡

This institution has been of signal service to the cause of education and the Gospel ministry in the State of Kentucky. About twelve hundred students have issued from its halls; of

* The early history of the late Dr. Blackburn is a remarkable instance of perseverance in the face of difficulties. Left an orphan and penniless, when about eleven years of age, (being defrauded out of the handsome patrimony of twenty thousand dollars,) a kind schoolmaster gave him instruction gratuitously; and he obtained a situation in a saw-mill, where he tended the saw from dark till daylight, studying by a fire of pine-knots. In this way he earned a dollar every night, and made rapid proficiency in his studies. Thus he struggled on till ready to enter college. To defray this new expense, he labored as a surveyor for four months; frequently sleeping in a cane-brake, to avoid the Indians, and having no shelter from the rain but a blanket. He received for his pay fourteen horses, valued at forty dollars a-piece. These he took to Maryland, and sold for fifteen hundred dollars; with which he discharged all his debts, and went through Dickinson College. (Prot. and Her. vol. ix. No. 33.) Thus early inured to hardships, he was admirably fitted for the arduous duties of a missionary to the Cherokee Indians; to which he was appointed by the General Assembly, in 1803, when thirty-one years of age. In this field he labored with great success for seven years, when want of health, and other reasons, induced him to relinquish his post. (Assembly's Digest, pp. 373-376.) Dr. Blackburn was admired as one of the most impressive and popular orators of the West. In theology he sided warmly with the New School party. The last years of his life were employed in a scheme for building up a college in Illinois, by means of an extensive land-agency; a certain proportion of all the land purchased being appropriated to the college.

† Prot. and Her. Oct. 6, 1842.

‡ Presb. Her. Oct. 8, 1846.

whom one hundred became physicians ; two hundred and fifty have studied law, and one hundred and fourteen have entered the ministry. It may be safe to assert, that of the present clergy composing the Synod of Kentucky, two-thirds have been educated at Centre College. Of such importance has this institution been, and so much good has it accomplished in the short space of little more than twenty years.*

The foregoing sketch has been given with more minuteness of detail than will be agreeable to the superficial reader, but the accurate and profound thinker will not be displeased with having before him full means of information on a subject which is daily attracting increased interest. The necessity of DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION, after a fair experiment, has been rendered of late years very apparent. To attempt to dispense with it is false liberality, and a pusillanimous surrender of the rights of the Church. Twice was the power of the Church evinced in the triumphant success of her own distinctive schools, (the Kentucky Academy, and afterwards Centre College,) while the State Institution was depressed.

If the Church wishes to secure the proper and sound religious training of her sons, she must have the means under her own control ; guarded against the likelihood of change. We have seen the radical mistake committed by the Presbyterians, both in 1783 and 1798. Had they, at the very first, asked for a charter, recognizing denominational control, they might easily have obtained it. Then they had the moral ascendancy ; the field was perfectly free from competition, and sectarian jealousies were not yet awakened ; as they afterwards found to be the case, when they established Centre College. Another error into which they fell, was to depend on the arm of flesh, and court the patronage of worldly men, and the eclat of distinguished names. Hence, in the struggle of 1818 they were betrayed ; and had, to their mortification, (for the second time,) a Socinian president placed over them.

The Presbyterians have often been accused of bigotry, when in truth the fault to which they have inclined, and for which they have severely smarted, has been excessive liberality and the dread of sectarian odium. Let them at last take warning

* Prot. and Her. Aug. 27, 1844.

from the crippled condition of various State institutions, and from the fate of Transylvania and Dickinson, originally founded by Presbyterians, and now fallen into the hands of the Methodists. Let them establish Denominational Schools, as the Roman Catholics and the Methodists do, and provide instruction of a superior and commanding character, and they need not despair of support. The public will always find out and sustain what is most deserving of patronage. Let them be on the alert, or they will find themselves thrown into the background, and stripped of their hard-earned advantages by denominations which a few years ago were clamorous against a learned ministry, but who have now seen their error, and stimulated by our example, are straining every nerve to become our most formidable rivals.

CHAPTER XIII.

OLD AND NEW COURT—REVIVALS—SLAVERY.

AT the close of the war of 1812, peace and security were restored to the frontier, and a great impetus was in consequence given to emigration. Land rose in value, and towns and cities sprang up as if by magic. Business of all sorts reached an unnatural expansion; and a perfect mania for speculation pervaded the country. To meet the increasing demand for the means of traffic, banks were multiplied, based on fictitious capital. The country was soon flooded with worthless paper. At length the bubble burst, and involved multitudes in ruin. Emigration was checked; the inflated prices of land fell; business was stopped; credit was at an end. Commercial distress of the severest kind threw the whole country into a panic; "Relief!" was the universal cry. Moved by the popular clamor, relief laws were enacted by several of the Western States; and notes issued, pledging the faith of the State for their redemption. These notes were hawked about in the market, and were bought by speculators at one-fourth of their nominal value. The remedy proved worse than the disease.*

The Legislature of Kentucky having chartered a bank, styled "The Bank of the Commonwealth," and finding its notes depreciated to less than fifty per cent., passed an act prolonging the right of replevying judgments and decrees on contracts, from three months to two years, unless the creditor would accept the Commonwealth Bank paper at its nominal value. To this measure was given a retro-active influence. The debtor class were so numerous, and so much embarrassed, that it became very popular. The whole community was divided into

* Flint's Hist. and Geogr. of the Mississ. Valley, vol. i. p. 180.

Relief and Anti-Relief parties, and every ordinary topic of political discussion was absorbed in the superior interest of this.

In 1823, the Court of Appeals decided that the retro-active bearing of the Relief-laws conflicted with that clause of the Federal Constitution which forbids a State to do anything "impairing the obligation of contracts." This decision naturally excited a great ferment. The Stump resounded with denunciations of tyranny and appeals to popular prejudices. At the next meeting of the Legislature, in the same year, the course of the judges was condemned by the majority, (but not by two-thirds,) in strong terms, and the Governor was called on to remove them from office. The next year, 1824, an act was passed abolishing the Old Court, and establishing a new one. The new judges opened their court, and attempted to transact business. But the old judges refused to submit to this summary displacement, on the ground that it was a violent infringement of the Constitution of the State, by which the Court of Appeals was established, independent of legislative statutes. The final appeal was made to the ballot-box, in 1825; and one of the sharpest struggles ensued which Kentucky had ever known. The question was of the last importance. It involved the obligation of contracts, the integrity of fundamental law, and the stability of the judiciary.

After a hard-fought contest, the Old Court party achieved a signal triumph. The re-organizing act was repealed. The New Court vanished, and the old judges, with Chief Justice Boyle at their head, whose unyielding firmness cannot be too much admired, resumed their functions without farther impediment.* It redounds to the credit of Kentucky, that not only at that tremendous crisis, but ever since, she has maintained the most honorable position in the eyes of the world; and no dark stigma of Repudiation blots her escutcheon.

During a period of such fierce political animosity, when the polls were often converted into scenes of sanguinary strife, it could hardly be expected that Religion, whose dove-like spirit is averse to contention, should thrive and prosper. Accordingly, none will feel surprised to find days of fasting, humiliation and prayer repeatedly appointed, in view of the low state of religion,

* Chief Justice Robertson's Biogr. Sketch of Hon. John Boyle, pp. 14, 15.

paucity of conversions, backwardness in supporting the ministry, small congregations, and the distracted state of the public mind.* In 1825, a more pleasing prospect opened before the Church. After so long a season of dearth and deadness, revivals began to increase, beyond what had been known for years, and several churches were graciously visited with the Divine blessing in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois.†

The groundswell of the political sea was now subsiding, and the excited mind of the public was happily diverted to the more important obligations of religion. A sensible improvement began to take place. The standard of public morals was raised. Presbyterianism was more favorably received; a greater interest was felt in religion generally; and the baleful influences of New Lightism and Infidelity were regarded as somewhat declining.‡

The years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829 were marked with revivals, very extensively, both in the East and West. The churches in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and the Middle States, were blessed with powerful revivals. Twenty Presbyteries in connection with the General Assembly reported seasons of refreshing, among which the Presbytery of Transylvania was specially favored. The Spirit was copiously poured out on Centre College; as well as on Athens, in Georgia, and Dickinson in Pennsylvania. The teacher and several of the pupils of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, in Danville, were hopefully converted.§

Among those congregations in Kentucky in which the Divine power was most conspicuous in melting and renewing the hearts of sinners were, Lexington 1st Church, Nicholasville, Bethel, (W. L. Pby.) Versailles, Winchester, Hopewell, Paris, Flemingsburgh, New Concord, Springfield, Millersburg, Stoner Mouth, Mount Pleasant, Maysville, Shiloh, Ebenezer, Columbia, Bethel, (Trans. Pby.) Harrodsburgh, Lebanon, New Providence, Danville, Lancaster, Paint Lick, Harmony, (Trans. Pby.) Buffalo Spring, Richmond, Silver Creek, Hanging Fork, and Greensburg. As the result of these revivals, upwards of four thousand additions to the

* Min. W. Lex. Pby., vol. iv. pp. 47, 86.

† West. Lum. vol. ii. pp. 57, 204, 258.

‡ See Narr. of W. Lex. Pby., April, 1826. Min. vol. iv. p. 86. It is observable that, in the narratives about this time, repeated allusions are made to the distraction of politics.

§ Evang. Mag. vol. x. pp. 386, 387.

churches were reported to the General Assembly for the two years, 1828 and 1829.*

But the most powerful revival which occurred about this period was at Lexington. Religion had long been languid; Unitarianism and Infidelity had been on the increase; and the virulence of party strife had been excessive. The necessity of some strong measures to arrest these evils was felt to be urgent, and engaged the attention of the clergy whenever they met. The Rev. Nathan H. Hall, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, with the approbation of his brethren, held a protracted meeting for four days, the first of the kind observed in that region. Great pains were taken to spread the intelligence, and considerable interest was felt in regard to it. Several clergymen and a large number of people attended the services. The order of exercises was, a Prayer-Meeting at sunrise; an Inquiry Meeting, for the serious and anxious, at nine o'clock; and preaching at the usual hours, morning, afternoon and evening. The interest and solemnity perceptibly increased to the close. Great tenderness of heart prevailed, and many hardened sinners were brought under deep convictions.

The meeting of the Synod occurred the same week, and the brethren who had been engaged in these interesting scenes repaired thither with hearts full of their recent impressions. The earnestness they felt was communicated to others, and before they parted, the ministers had experienced something of a revival in their own breasts, and had entered into an agreement to pray at a concerted time for an outpouring of the Spirit on their respective churches. Their prayers were not offered in vain, and many of the churches were greatly refreshed.

The tone of anxious feeling having become deeper at Lexington, another protracted meeting was held within three weeks of the first, conducted in the same manner, and by the same ministers. The result was that five hundred persons were there gathered into the fold of Christ. The general effect was happy in the extreme. From that time Infidelity and Unitarianism lost their ascendancy; and, notwithstanding some subsequent lapses, great good was accomplished, the kingdom of Satan shaken, and the cause of evangelical piety strengthened.†

* See Min. G. A. for 1828. Narr. of Relig. p. 259; and for 1829, Narr. of Relig. p. 414.

† Reed and Matheson's visit to the Am. Churches, Lett. xii.

The Rev. NATHAN H. HALL was the son of a popular Baptist preacher, in Garrard county, but having been converted during the great revival, chose to connect himself with the Presbyterians. He was baptized, by Mr. Lyle, at a sacramental occasion at Danville, in August, 1802. Mr. Lyle felt some reluctance to do this, through an apprehension, which proved well founded, that some of the Baptists might be soured, and stand aloof.* Mr. Hall was received as a candidate by the Presbytery of Transylvania, in April, 1806; and the Presbytery assumed the obligation of his support during his studies, each member agreeing to bear an equal proportion of the expense.† It would appear from the Minutes that they had grown more strict in their examination of candidates about this time, as they rejected one, hesitated about two others, and required an additional trial-piece from a fourth. Mr. Hall was placed under the superintendence of the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson. A few months after he had leave to exhort publicly. He was licensed to preach in 1808; and in 1811 was ordained pastor of Springfield and Hardin's Creek Churches. While in this charge he held an oral debate, on the Veneration of Images, with the Roman Catholic Bishop David, in the courthouse at Bardstown, in which, as is not unusual in such cases, both sides claimed the advantage. Bishop David afterwards published the substance of his remarks in a pamphlet, which drew forth a "Reply" from Mr. Hall. The bishop rejoined with a "Defence of the Vindication;" and as his antagonist published nothing further, the bishop's party claimed for him the doubtful triumph of remaining master of the field.‡

* Lyle's Diary, p. 76.

† Min. Trans. Pby., vol. iii. p. 125. This occurrence of a promising young man provisionally cast upon them, seems to have stimulated the Presbytery to systematic measures for the education of pious young men, as we find them, in the following year, recommending the members to raise contributions for the purpose. Nearly \$70 were collected. pp. 183, 194. Messrs. Howe, Cleland, Robertson and Vance were appointed a committee to find out and aid pious young men; and we find afterwards the names of several occurring that were thus aided. With scarcely an exception they repaired to Princeton Seminary; and some have acted a distinguished part in the Church since. pp. 233, 254, vol. iv. pp. 2, 108, 115. In addition to the education of young men, attention was paid to domestic missions. The Presbytery of West Lexington supported a missionary at \$30 and \$35 per month. Min. W. Lex. Pby., vol. iv. pp. 9, 23, 64. In 1824, we find the same Presbytery giving a candidate for the ministry \$135, contributed by the members for his support. Min. vol. iv. p. 41.

‡ Spalding's Sketches, pp. 253-255.

In 1823, Mr. Hall was invited to Lexington, as the successor of the Rev. Robert M. Cunningham, in the pastoral care of the First Presbyterian Church, where he still remains.* With a portly person, stentorian lungs, an ardent temperament, all the enthusiasm and impulse of the Kentucky character, and an unbounded hospitality, he has long been the most extensively popular preacher of the denomination in the West; and more conversant with revivals than any of his contemporaries. He excels in exhortation, and his appeals, standing beneath the pulpit, or in the aisle after sermon, urging the congregation to come up to the anxious seat, have sometimes been marked with a startling and terrific power. Constantly solicited in the most urgent manner to give his aid in all parts of the country, he has been instrumental in gathering great multitudes into the churches; although it is not to be denied that the more cool and cautious look with distrust on his system of hasty admissions. His early education has given him great advantages in managing the Baptist controversy, in which he is acknowledged to be very expert. Mr. Hall, in the midst of more success than falls to the lot of most ministers, has also had a proportionate share of evil said against him; and nothing but the most extraordinary buoyancy of temper could have sustained him under trials, of a public and private nature, severe enough to prostrate almost any other man.

In 1828, died the Rev. JOHN MCFARLAND, pastor of the Church in Paris. He came over to the Presbyterian communion from that of the Associate Reformed, at the same time with Dr. Mason and others. His talents and learning were of a high order. A little before his decease he published a small treatise on the Relation, Rights, Privileges and Duties of baptized children. It was his favorite theory that they were suitable subjects of church discipline, and had a right to the Lord's Supper. This he inculcated from the pulpit, and in the Church Courts. He bequeathed \$400, in books, to Centre College.

It was about this period (1828) that the Rev. Frederick A. Ross and James Gallaher acted a conspicuous part as itinerant Evangelists, or Revival Preachers. This title was now coming greatly into vogue, both in the East and West, and was for some time very popular, until its manifest abuse caused it to be dis-

* Min. W. L. Pby., vol. iv. p. 26.

continued. The above-named ministers travelled extensively in Kentucky and Ohio, and they were very successful in producing great religious excitement wherever they labored. They made great use of the Anxious Seat, and similar devices, familiarly known as "New Measures."*

Camp-meetings were also revived, and as long as they were held in neighborhoods which were truly missionary ground, where there were no houses large enough to accommodate a multitude of persons, they appeared to be useful. A number of converts were made in a few months. It was not long, however, before camp-meetings were unnecessarily multiplied, and brought within two or three miles of populous towns. This gave occasion to great disorder, Sabbath-breaking, drinking and levity. The judicious withdrew their countenance, and they gradually fell into disuse as nuisances.†

The name of the late Rev. DAVID NELSON, M.D., ought not to be omitted in this place. He had studied medicine in Danville, where he also imbibed Infidel notions, and afterwards became an army surgeon in the war of 1812. Being converted from Infidelity, he was admirably fitted to grapple with 'deistical objections, and scatter their sophistry to the winds. Of this his last production, "The Cause and Cure of Infidelity," is a standing proof. Many and continually recurring instances might be furnished of its usefulness. The very oddity of his manners, the slovenliness of his appearance, and his aversion to ascend a pulpit, preferring to stand underneath, or on a bench, served to attract the popular curiosity. His style was didactic and argumentative, rather than hortatory; but when his appeals to the judgment were followed by a speaker capable of moving the passions, the effect produced was happy in the extreme. Dr. Nelson removed to the neighborhood of Quincy, Illinois, where he attempted to found a Mission Institute on a large scale, commensurate with the wants of the world. The plan was truly magnificent, contemplating the collection of at least five hundred

* The introduction of the Anxious Seat is ascribed to Dr. Anderson, of Tennessee. Though fallen into discredit, it is still practised by some orthodox ministers. It was a favorite measure of Mr. Finney, and as decidedly disapproved by Mr. Nettleton.

† A camp-meeting has been held occasionally of late years by the Presbyterians of Kentucky, but under such efficient and prudent regulations that no disorders have arisen.

students. Economy was to be consulted by each student, like the sons of the prophets in the days of Elisha, taking an axe, and hewing from the adjoining forest the materials for his humble cabin; while his repast was to consist of rice, corn-meal, or like simple fare, prepared by his own hands. This great and good man, after being reduced by repeated epileptic attacks to the wreck of his former self, was removed to a better world in the year 1844.

The loud calls for an increase of ministers, and the inconvenience and expense of sending candidates to so distant a school as Princeton, induced the General Assembly, in 1826, to take measures for establishing a Theological Seminary in the West. The location concluded upon was Alleghany Town, opposite Pittsburg. The subject of a Western Theological Seminary had long occupied the attention of the churches in Kentucky and the adjoining States; but the Synod of Kentucky was disposed to discourage an independent Seminary, being warmly attached to Princeton, to which their candidates had been sent with great uniformity; some being dismissed to the Presbytery of New Brunswick for the purpose.

The Synod, in 1824, corresponded with the Synods of Ohio and Tennessee, with a view to dissuade them from attempting to set up an independent institution, urging that Princeton should be patronized; for since its erection a new era had dawned, and large and respectable accessions had been received from its halls; and that when a Western Seminary should be called for, there should be but one great school under the direct supervision of the General Assembly itself.* It was maintained that the site of the contemplated seminary should be as nearly as possible in the centre of the Mississippi Valley, and neither east nor north of Cincinnati.† In consequence, great dissatisfaction was felt at the Assembly's making choice of Alleghany Town, as not answering the wants and wishes of the West.‡ In 1828, the

* Min. Syn. Ky., vol. iii. p. 111.

† Min. W. L. Pby., vol. iv. p. 82.

‡ As a curious illustration of this and of the expansion of the great West, it may be stated that when the General Assembly met in Pittsburg in 1835, the Eastern members took their wives with them to see the West, while the Western members took theirs to see the East! In 1825, the Assembly appointed General Jackson of Tennessee, Judge Benjamin Mills of Kentucky, Hon. John Thompson of Ohio, and Drs. Obadiah Jennings and Andrew Wylie of Pennsylvania, Commissioners to report to the Board of Directors upon a location. They, it is

Synod of Kentucky added a Theological Department to Centre College,* but the scheme proved abortive.

About the same time Lane Seminary was founded at Cincinnati;† and some few years afterwards, in consequence of distrust of the soundness of the instruction there given, another was started at South Hanover in Indiana, by the united Synods of Cincinnati and Indiana; but in the foundation of neither had the Synod of Kentucky any direct agency.

In the year 1838, on an overture from the West Lexington Presbytery, the Synod passed several important resolutions, pronouncing it of great importance to the interests of the Presbyterian

understood, pitched upon *Walnut Hills* in the vicinity of Cincinnati, the Kemper family offering the ground. But by manœuvring and superior promises, Walnut Hills was rejected in 1828, and Alleghany Town chosen, by a close vote of two majority; that majority being furnished by the votes of Pittsburg members. The funds were wasted in cutting a high hill to form a spacious esplanade; the magnificent subscriptions of \$36,000 in the Synod of Pittsburg in addition to \$15,000 in the city were never realized; the title proved wretchedly invalid; the Western Synods declined to co-operate; and for these and other reasons, Dr. Janeway resigned his professorship in 1829. See Minutes G. A. 1825-1828, and Dr. Janeway's MS. Statement G. A., 1829. The decision of 1828, led to consequences that cannot be sufficiently deplored. Had the Seminary been then located at Walnut Hills, Mr. Arthur Tappan would probably never have offered to found a professorship for Dr. Beecher; Dr. Beecher would not have crossed the mountains; Cincinnati would not have become a focus of New School influence; and the Western Churches would possess at this day a School in a central and popular position.

* Min. Syn. Ky., vol. iii. p. 153, vol. iv. pp. 6, 99.

† Some time after the religious excitement of 1828, the two Messrs. Lane, of Boston, having been convinced from personal observation, on their way to New Orleans, of the necessity of the case, resolved to found a Literary and Theological institution at Walnut Hills, four miles from Cincinnati. They were Baptists, but men of liberal and comprehensive views. They presented the proposition first to their own denomination, but not finding them inclined to co-operate, they resolved to make their munificent offer to the Presbyterians, *in connection with the General Assembly*. Lane Seminary was accordingly founded, after conference with the Professors at Princeton, and with Drs. Wilson and Nelson. The Rev. Mr. Beckwith, of Lowell, was first president of the literary department, but soon retired. When the Theological department was established, Arthur Tappan, a merchant of New York, offered to found a professorship, on condition that Dr. Lyman Beecher be the incumbent. Dr. Beecher was then believed to be orthodox and sound in his views. The Literary department was soon after transferred to the Miami University under the care of Dr. Bishop. Although Dr. Wilson publicly demanded in a pamphlet an explanation of this transfer, none was ever given. In the schism of 1838, Lane Seminary went with its professors over to the New School body; nor did the Old School Assembly take any measures for its recovery, adhering to the spirit of the compromise proposed before, that each party should retain possession of the institutions which they controlled. The Kemper family, however, who are warmly Old School, and who had made a donation of the land, felt very much aggrieved, and have several times threatened to institute a suit in their own name.

Church in the valley of the Mississippi, that a well-endowed Theological Seminary should without delay be established in the West or South-west. They determined to unite with the adjoining Synods in supporting such an institution, and sending delegates to a Convention invited to meet at Louisville for the purpose. The Rev. Messrs. Price, Rice, and Bullock, with elders McCalla, Wood, and Thornton, were chosen their delegates. The Rev. Lewis W. Green, then one of the faculty of Centre College, a ripe and finished scholar, was elected the Synod's Professor of Biblical Criticism and Oriental Literature. The Synod expressly reserved the right at any time to withdraw its professor and any funds it might furnish. The Convention met at Louisville, on the 22d of November, and among other arrangements, decided on New Albany on the Indiana shore, a little below Louisville, as the site of the Seminary; the late Elias Ayres, Esq., a pious merchant of that place, generously offering \$10,000 on condition of the united Synods raising as much more to complete the endowment. The Seminary at South Hanover was merged in the new institution, and its professors and funds transferred with it. The venerable Dr. Matthews was placed at the head of the New Albany school, which he still continues to adorn. Professor Green withdrew in the course of a year, and with his withdrawal the connection of the Synod of Kentucky ceased. In the year 1846, that connection was resumed, and there are now seven Synods united in the control of the Seminary, viz: the Synods of Indiana, Northern Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Cincinnati, West Tennessee, and Kentucky.

The year 1833 was memorable on account of the awful ravages of that formidable epidemic, capricious in its march, inscrutable in its features, and baffling the resources of the medical art, the Asiatic Cholera. Generated in the rank jungles of the Sunderbunds in 1817, it had made the tour of the world, and crossing the Atlantic on the wings of the wind, came to spread its devastations over the United States. Cincinnati, Maysville, Flemingsburg, Springfield, Millersburg, Georgetown, Paris, Harrodsburg, Frankfort, Shelbyville, Louisville, Simpsonville, Nashville, all suffered more or less severely. But in no place, perhaps, was the mortality greater than in the city of Lexington. It was fondly believed that this beautiful city would escape en-

tirely, on account of its elevated situation, freedom from large collections of water, and general salubrity. But these expectations, encouraged as they were by the public assertions of the medical faculty, and backed by the positive authority of the professor's chair, were doomed to a bitter disappointment. Early in June, 1833, the epidemic made its appearance, and filled every house with mourning.

In the short space of nine days, fifteen hundred persons were prostrated, and dying at the rate of fifty a day. The horrors of that period no one can adequately conceive. The rain fell in unprecedented torrents, while the incessant glare of lightning and the roll of thunder made the night terrific. Amid the uproar of the elements the watchers sat mournfully in the chamber of death; and all night, during the lull of the storm, might be heard the feet of the anxious messengers hurrying along the streets, and besieging the doors of the apothecaries and physicians.

Within a fortnight it was computed that about five hundred persons fell victims, notwithstanding half the population had fled at an early period.* The panic was terrible. While many left the city, others kept aloof from rendering assistance through fear of infection; and there can be no doubt that numbers died in solitude for want of friendly succor. The streets were deserted. The market-place was desolate. Had it not been for the activity of the city authorities and the humanity of the charitable, the horrors of famine must have been added to those of pestilence. To complete the desperate condition of things, three physicians died, three more were absent, and of the rest, scarcely one escaped an attack of disease himself. The clergy, active as they were in attendance at the bedside of the sick and dying, were insufficient to meet the demand for their services. Some of the most respectable citizens were hurried off to the place of interment in a rough deal coffin placed in a cart, without funeral procession or religious ceremonies. The grave-yards were choked. Coffins were laid down at the gates by the score, in confused heaps; and among them, horrible to relate! corpses wrapped up only in the bed-clothes in which they had but an hour or two before expired. There they lay, each waiting their

* Dr. Yandell estimates the deaths at 450. Account of Spasmodic Cholera in Lexington, p. 23.

turn to be deposited in the long trenches which were hastily dug for the necessities of the occasion.

The epidemic shortly disappeared, in some places less rapidly than others ; but no remarkable religious concern seemed to be the immediate result of this awful visitation. On the contrary the minds of the people appeared rather stunned and stupefied. But the following year, 1834, was signalized as a year of revivals, and nowhere more conspicuously than in the very city where the desolations had been greatest. There was a continued series of meetings held in Lexington for three or four weeks, night and day, in which nearly all the denominations participated ; the result of which was, that about four hundred additions were made to the various churches as the trophies of divine grace.

The subject of Slavery began about this time to be vehemently agitated by the advocates of immediate abolition in the United States. It is proper, therefore, to recite in this place the course of ecclesiastical action, taken from the beginning in Kentucky, and to show that the uniform testimony of the Presbyterian Church has been in favor of no other plan than Gradual Emancipation.

The subject early engaged the attention of the reflecting and the conscientious. On the eve of the Convention, held in 1792, to draw up a State Constitution, that venerable patriarch, David Rice, published a pamphlet, under the signature of Philanthropos, entitled, "Slavery inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy." He spoke freely of the infringement of personal rights ; the want of protection for female chastity ; the violent separation of families ; the deprivation by law of religious and moral instruction ; the growing danger of servile insurrection ; the tendency to sap the foundations of moral and political virtue ; the inducing habits of idleness and vice, especially among the young men ; the comparative unproductiveness of slave property ; the discouraging of valuable emigration from the eastward ; and the probable deterioration of the country. He undertook to answer objections, especially those drawn from the supposed sanction of the Scriptures, and the silence of the apostles. He proposed that the Convention should "resolve unconditionally to put an end to slavery in Kentucky." The details of the plan might be left to a subsequent legislature. But in view of

the difficulties that surrounded the subject, he avowed his belief that "a gradual emancipation only can be advisable." His views may be gathered from the following paragraph: "The legislature," said he, "if they judged it expedient, would prevent the importation of any more slaves: they would enact that all born after such a date should be born free; be qualified by proper education to make useful citizens; and be actually freed at a proper age. It is no small recommendation of this plan, that it so nearly coincides with the Mosaic law, in this case provided; to which, even suppose it a human institution, great respect is due for its antiquity, its justice, and humanity."* These views were zealously supported by Mr. Rice in the convention, but through the influence of those distinguished statesmen, John Breckenridge and Col. Nicholas, he was defeated.

In 1794, the Presbytery of Transylvania, then covering the entire State, passed a resolution to the effect that slaves should be instructed to read the Scriptures, and be prepared for freedom.†

The subject was several times brought before them, and on one occasion, 1796, they expressed their opinion as follows: "The remonstrance against slavery was taken up, when Presbytery, after mature deliberation, came to the following resolution, viz: That although Presbytery are fully convinced of the great evil of slavery, yet they view the final remedy as alone belonging to the civil powers; and also do not think that they have sufficient authority from the word of God to make it a term of Church communion. They, therefore, leave it to the consciences of the brethren to act as they may think proper; earnestly recommending to the people under their care to emancipate such of their slaves as they may think fit subjects of liberty; and that they also take every possible measure, by teaching their young slaves to read and giving them such other instruction as may be in their power, to prepare them for the enjoyment of liberty, an event which they contemplate with the greatest pleasure, and which, they hope, will be accomplished as soon as the nature of things will admit."‡

* Bishop's Rice, (where see the whole essay in the appendix,) p. 415.

† Mins. Trans. Phy. vol. i. p. 147.

‡ Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 102, 103.

Repeated petitions, &c., on the subject of slavery are found among the filed papers of the Presbytery;* together with a letter sent from the General Assembly, signed by Dr. John McKnight, Moderator, 1795, stating what the Assembly had done to favor emancipation, and exhorting to mutual forbearance and peace.

In 1797, the question, "Is slavery a moral evil?" was taken up, and determined in the affirmative. The question, "Are all persons who hold slaves guilty of a moral evil?" was answered in the negative. A third question, "Who are not guilty of moral evil in holding slaves?" was considered of so much importance, that its consideration was postponed until a future day. The following year it was debated, and again postponed.†

In 1800, a memorial from Cane Ridge and Concord was referred by the West Lexington Presbytery to the Synod of Virginia and the General Assembly. In their letter to the Synod of Virginia, they call slavery "a subject likely to occasion much trouble and division in the churches in this country." They also express it as the opinion of a large majority of this Presbytery, and of the sister Presbyteries, that slaveholding should exclude from church privileges, but hesitate to decide till directed by higher judicatories.‡

In 1802, we find the same body not allowing church sessions to prohibit slaveholders from communion, and thus to make terms of communion unsanctioned by the higher judicatories.§

In 1823, the Synod of Kentucky appointed committees to further the American Colonization Society, and to promote the object by correspondence with influential men in different parts of the State.|| Indeed, recommendations of this Society are found so frequently on the minutes as to be almost annual. In 1830, the churches were enjoined¶ to raise collections to aid in

* The name of Malcolm Worley appears more than once appended to these petitions. The attentive reader of the chapter on the extravagances of the Great Revival must have become familiar with his name as ready to espouse any fanatical ultraism.

† Min. Trans. Pby. vol. ii. pp. 163, 224. ‡ Min. W. Lex. Pby. vol. i. p. 38.

§ Min. W. Lex. Pby. vol. i. p. 81.

|| Min. Syn. Ken. vol. iii. pp. 65, 108, 122.

¶ It is not unworthy of note that the assumption of the *potestas ordinans* has been much more cautiously indulged in of late years than formerly, and the

building a church in Liberia. Unhappily, the injunction proved not to be generally complied with, and the next year was renewed.*

In 1825, the Synod directed ministers to pay more attention to the religious instruction of the slaves. In 1826, fifteen schools for people of color were reported.†

In 1833, the following overture was discussed in the Synod, for two days, with considerable spirit, viz: "Resolved, that in the view of this Synod, slavery, as it exists within our bounds, is a great moral evil, and inconsistent with the word of God. And we do, therefore, recommend to all our ministers and members, who hold slaves, to endeavor to have them instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel; and to promote, in every peaceable way, the interests of the Colonization Society; and to favor all proper measures for gradual voluntary emancipation." An amendment was offered, striking out the words, "and inconsistent with the word of God," which was rejected. The debate waxed warmer and warmer, when it was abruptly brought to a close by the adoption of the following resolution, moved by the Rev. Samuel V. Marshall: "Inasmuch as, in the judgment of the Synod, it is inexpedient to come to any decision on the very difficult and delicate question of slavery, as it is within our bounds; therefore resolved, that the whole subject be indefinitely postponed." It was carried—ayes 41, nays 36, non liquet 1.‡

But the subject was not to remain so quietly disposed of. The next year, at Danville, the whole matter was again brought up, and a series of resolutions were adopted, no less decided in their tone than that which had lately been postponed. By an over-

form of injunction has yielded to that of recommendation. Yet we find the old Presbytery of Transylvania at various times *granting permission* to congregations to build churches, and in one instance *refusing* permission, though granting supplies. The case was that of Fleming church, Mason county, in 1795.

* Min. Syn. Ky. vol. iv. pp. 199, 220.

† Min. Syn. Ky. vol. iii. pp. 133, 156. In 1830, appeared a variety of essays, which attracted no little attention. One series (of seven numbers) was written by Robert J. Breckenridge, (signed B.) another by that venerable and erudite scholar, George Clarke, (signed C.) and a third by the late Judge Green, (signed Philo C.) These gentlemen were all attached to the Presbyterian Church. Their publications were elicited by an attempt (which proved abortive,) to repeal the law forbidding the importation of slaves into the State, and displayed great ability as well as moral courage; for they cost the first-named gentleman his seat in the Legislature. Balt. Rel. Mag. vol. vii. p. 9.

‡ Min. Syn. Ky. vol. v. pp. 28, 31.

whelming majority* a committee of ten were appointed to prepare a plan for the instruction and future emancipation of the slaves. The committee were, the Hon. John Brown, Chairman; Judge Green, President Young, Thōmas Porter Smith, Esq., Charles N. Cunningham, Esq., J. R. Alexander, Esq., Rev. Robert Stuart, Rev. James K. Burch, Rev. Nathan H. Hall, and Rev. W. L. Breckenridge;† men of great weight of character and commanding influence. The following year, 1835, they published to the world their proposed plan, in a pamphlet of 64 pages, from the pen of President Young.‡ It was regarded as an able document, taking strong and decided ground in favor of gradual emancipation. It fearlessly recounted the evils of slavery; its degrading influence; its dooming thousands to hopeless ignorance; its depriving them, in a great measure, of the privileges of the Gospel; its licensing cruelty; its producing licentiousness among the slaves; its demoralizing effect on the whites as well as the blacks; and its drawing down the vengeance of Heaven. After answering objections, the committee proceeded to unfold their plan.

"The plan, then, which we propose," say they, "is, for the master to retain, during a limited period, and with regard to the real welfare of the slave, that authority which he before held, in perpetuity, and solely for his own interest. Let the full liberty of the slave be secured against all contingencies, by a recorded deed of emancipation, to take effect at a specified time. In the mean while, let the servant be treated with kindness—let all those things which degrade him be removed—let him enjoy means of instruction—let his moral and religious improvement be sought—let his prospects be presented before him, to stimulate him to acquire those habits of foresight, economy, industry, activity, skill, and integrity, which will fit him for using well the liberty he is soon to enjoy."

"1. We would recommend that all slaves now under 20 years of age, and all those yet to be born in our possession, be emancipated as they severally reach their 25th year

* The vote stood—yeas 56, nays 8, non liquet 7.

† Min. Syn. Ky. vol. v. p. 50-52.

‡ Half of it was an appendix, consisting of a reply of Pres. Young to Messrs. Steele and Crothers, designed to prove "the doctrine of immediate emancipation unsound."

"2. We recommend that deeds of emancipation be now drawn up, and recorded in our respective county courts, specifying the slaves whom we are about to emancipate, and the age at which each is to become free.

"3. We recommend that our slaves be instructed in the common elementary branches of education.

"4. We recommend that strenuous and persevering efforts be made to induce them to attend regularly upon the ordinary services of religion, both domestic and public.

"5. We recommend that great pains be taken to teach them the Holy Scriptures; and that, to effect this, the instrumentality of Sabbath-schools, wherever they can be enjoyed, be united with that of domestic instruction.

"These are measures which all ought to adopt; and we know of no peculiarity of circumstances in the case of any individual, which can free him from culpability if he neglects them."*

These propositions were far in advance of public sentiment, as prevailing at that time. No formal action was ever taken by the Synod in regard to them. In the morbid and feverish state of the public mind, it is not to be concealed, that by some they were considered as going to an unwarrantable and imprudent length. One of its suggestions was the payment of an amount of wages to the slave equal to the hire paid his owner. The northern Abolitionists were waging a hot crusade against slavery, sending out itinerant lecturers, and loading the mails with inflammatory publications. Their measures were marked with a fanatical virulence rarely exhibited, and the South and South-west were exasperated beyond forbearance. Even in the free States mobs and riots ensued. In the slave States the effects were truly disastrous. The prospect of emancipation was retarded for years. The laws bearing on the slave population were, in some States, made more stringent than ever, and their privileges were curtailed. In Kentucky, the religious meetings of the blacks were broken up or interrupted, and their Sabbath-schools dispersed.† Such was the embittered state of public

* Plan, pp. 26, 28, 29.

† Mr. James Weir a wealthy manufacturer of Lexington, and a subject of the recent revival in that city, employed the Rev. W. W. Hall as a missionary to instruct his numerous slaves and other persons of color. But the missionary one day received a threatening note, warning him to close his Sunday School.

feeling, that when the question of altering the State Constitution was submitted to the people, the friends of the slave preferred letting it quietly be lost, rather than run the risk of changes which might rivet more closely the yoke of bondage. The innocent cause of Colonization, before so much a favorite, suffered greatly for a time, many perversely confounding it with Abolitionism. The effervescence, however, has long since subsided, and a favorable re-action has taken place. During the year 1845, the Agent of the American Colonization Society collected from the voluntary generosity of its friends in the State, the sum of five thousand dollars, for the purpose of purchasing a district of country in Africa, to be called "Kentucky in Liberia," and to be appropriated to the residence of emigrants from Kentucky, each of whom, on arriving, is to receive a grant of land. A territory was secured, described by the Governor of Liberia as a beautiful, healthy, and favorable location; and the foundation of a settlement was laid there early in the following year, increased by the addition of a second company, after the lapse of another twelvemonth. It is now in contemplation to induce the Legislature of the State to follow the noble example of that of Maryland, in contributing an annual sum to aid in removing emigrants, and thus raise up on the shores of Africa, an enlightened, free, and happy commonwealth, the germ of a future empire, gratefully perpetuating the recollection of its origin in the use of its adopted name.*

The resolutions of the General Assembly of 1845, at Cincinnati, (which were drafted by the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D.D., a native of Kentucky,) taking the ground that it is not competent to the Church to legislate where Christ and his apostles have not legislated, proved highly acceptable to the churches south of the Ohio, as well as generally. On this rock the Baptist and Methodist denominations had just before split; and it is matter of devout thankfulness that the Presbyterian Church has been saved from following their example, and is now so harmonious upon this subject as to be relieved from the slightest apprehension of a schism.

or it would be done by force. The school was in consequence closed, (contrary to the decided advice of the author, who looked on the anonymous note as nothing more than an idle threat,) and the labors of the missionary were suspended.

* Presb. Her. June 19, 1845. Liberia Adv. May 22, 1846.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW SCHOOL SCHISM—CONCLUSION.

AFTER thirty years of freedom from intestine strife, during which time she had acquired a commanding position and influence, the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky was torn for the fourth time, most needlessly, by the ploughshare of division. Happily her dear-bought experience enabled her to weather the storm in safety, and the injury she sustained was comparatively trifling.

Two parties had of late years been arrayed against each other, known by the distinctive names of Old and New School; the first being conservative in their views, the latter latitudinarian. They differed in regard to doctrines, in regard to measures, in regard to ecclesiastical polity, and in regard to the Plan of Union of 1801.

Although the New School party embraced many who were sound in Doctrine, it is certain that Semi-Pelagianism was extensively fostered and shielded from discipline within its ranks; while a portion ran into wilder errors than the rankest Pelagian ever dreamed of. The following tenets were held, jointly or severally, by a large number of the party: That we have no more to do with the sin of Adam than of any other parent. That he was in no sense our Covenant Head or Federal Representative. That to say we sinned in him conveys no intelligible idea to any man of common sense. That the sufferings and death of infants are no wise penal, but to be accounted for on the same principle as those of the brute creation. That there is no such thing as Original Sin, or a sinful nature. That sin is only an abuse of the principle of self-love, which is in itself neither sinful nor holy. That there can be no sin except in acts.

That God could not have prevented the existence of sin without interfering with free agency. That Election is founded on foreknowledge of character, and that there is no such thing as Special Grace. That Imputed Righteousness is imputed nonsense. That the Atonement of itself, secured the salvation of no man, being merely symbolical or governmental, a satisfaction to public or general justice, and only opening a door of hope. That Christ did not endure the penalty of the law, and was not our legal substitute. That to say our guilt was imputed to him implies a transfer of moral character. That Regeneration is a man's own act, and consists in changing his governing purpose, which he is competent to perform without the aid of the Holy Spirit. That ability is the measure of obligation. That man's only inability is inability of will. That the Holy Spirit does not operate directly upon the heart, but only through or upon the truth presented, otherwise free moral agency would be destroyed. And lastly, that having all requisite ability to obey God's law, it is possible to attain perfection in this life, if we will to do so, and it is our duty thus to will.*

Besides the New Divinity, sometimes called New England Theology, (but improperly, for there was a strong Old School party among the Congregationalists of New England,) and sometimes Taylorism, from Dr. Taylor of New Haven, its prominent advocate, there was a set of New Measures that came very extensively into vogue. These comprehended some things that were good, and others that were exceptionable; periodical and spasmodic excitements; artificial revivals; an order of so-called revival preachers; praying publicly for ministers as if they were unconverted, (after the manner of Davenport;) protracted meet-

* See Fitch's Discourses; Taylor's Discourses; Harvey's Letters on Theol. Specul. in Conn.; Spring on Means of Regeneration, and on Native Depravity; Griffin on Divine Efficiency, and on Regeneration; Wood's Letters to Taylor; Tyler's Letters on New Haven Theology; Tyler's Memoir of Nettleton, p. 290; Rand's Strictures on Finney; Lord's Views in Theology; Christian Spectator, *passim*; Biblical Repertory, *passim*; Wood's Old and New Theology; Rice's Old and New Schools; Crocker's Catastrophe of the Presb. Ch. chaps. xii. xxii.; Reid and Matheson's Visit to the American Churches, Lett. xxxii. Beman's Four Letters on the Atonement; Duffield on Regeneration; Barnes' Sermon on the Way of Salvation, and Comm. on Romans; Stuart's Comm. on Romans; Beecher's Views in Theology; Cox on Regeneration, and art. in Bibl. Repert. vol. iii. p. 482; Finney's Lectures; Mahan on Christian Perfection; The Perfectionist; New York Evangelist, *passim*; Testimony of the Gen. Assembly of 1837 against Sixteen Errors, Min. p. 468; Protest of Duffield and others on the Sixteen Errors, Min. p. 481, &c.

ings from four to forty days in length, not after the pattern of the Scotch sacramental meetings, nor demanded by urgent necessity, but got up as part of the machinery for producing a revival; the anxious seat, or the clearing of several pews in front of the pulpit after a stimulating exhortation, and urging those that were anxious for their salvation to occupy them as a decisive step towards conversion; rising to be prayed for in the congregation; sun-rise prayer-meetings; conference or inquiry meetings; domiciliary visits by church members or young converts, two and two, for prayer and exhortation; pointed addresses to the impenitent, with a view to immediate conversion; hasty admissions to church membership; insisting on submitting to God as the test of conversion, and discouraging all preliminary prayer, reading the Scriptures, or resort to the outward means of grace; with various other contrivances to bring a rush of proselytes into the Church, many of whom, upon cooling down, discovered that they had acted under the pressure of animal excitement, and renounced their Christian profession.* Where these New Measures prevailed to any extent, as in Western New York, the ground was completely burnt over, all healthy religious action was interrupted, and a permanent moral desolation was the consequence. Prejudices were created against even genuine revivals; and scoffers, infidels, Unitarians, Universalists, and every form of error took advantage of the check given to evangelical doctrine, and thrived exceedingly.

The modes of conducting Education and Missions formed another fruitful source of controversy. The Old School considered them safest under ecclesiastical control; the New preferred to leave them under the direction of irresponsible Voluntary Societies, the American Education Society, the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.†

* See Sprague on Revivals, app.; Annan on the Anxious Bench; Finney's Lectures on Revivals; Tyler's Memoir of Nettleton, p. 245; Baird's Relig. in America, p. 214; Beecher's Letter; Reid and Matheson, Lett. xxxi.

† See Dr. Carnahan's able article on the Am. Education Soc. Prof. Stuart's Examination; and the Reply to the Examination, in the Bibl. Repert. for 1829, vol. i. pp. 344, 560, 602. Dr. Wilson's Four Propositions sustained against the A. H. M. S.; Cushman's Appeal; Peters' Six Letters; Official Reply of Board of Dom. Miss.; Protest of Peters and others against the Assembly's censure of the A. H. M. S. and the A. E. S. Min. 1837, pp. 442, 488.

The plan of Union, contrary to its original intention, became another apple of discord. In consequence of the increasing emigration of New England people to the West, the General Assembly had consented, in 1801, at the suggestion of the General Association of Connecticut, that for convenience sake, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements might unite in constituting churches, choosing a minister of either persuasion, dispensing with ruling elders, settling all difficulties that might arise by Councils instead of Presbyteries, and appointing committeemen to sit in Presbytery as ruling elders. The effect of this plan, by means of the multiplied Presbyteries and Synods that were fostered under its operation, as well as by means of its gross abuse, was to give the Congregational elements an undue preponderance in the Church courts; and laymen who had never adopted, or perhaps even read, the Confession of Faith, and who felt a natural predilection for the peculiarities of New England, decided on a creed, discipline, and polity purely Presbyterian.* So great were the abuses of this plan of Union, (never designed to be other than a *temporary* arrangement,) that in the Western Reserve Synod, (Ohio,) out of one hundred and thirty-nine churches, but nine were organized on the Presbyterian model. The remaining hundred and thirty were Congregational or mixed. In the Synods of Utica, Geneva, and Genesee, (Western New York,) two-fifths of the churches were of the same description.† Yet all these churches claimed a representation not only in the Presbyteries and the Synods, but also in the General Assembly. This gross enormity was long concealed from the unconscious Presbyterians, by these churches being reported as *Presbyterian Churches*, and it was only by degrees that the truth was dragged to light.

What first excited suspicion was the evident coalition between the Voluntary Societies and the New School party, (especially that portion of them brought in through the plan of Union,) to spread the new divinity, and to put down the Boards of the Church.‡ Under the affectation of superior zeal, they labored

* Assembly's Digest, p. 297; Crocker's Catastrophe, pp. 6-46. Past. and Circ. Letters of Gen. Assembly, 1837. Min. pp. 499, 502; Miller's Church Case, *passim*.

† Miller's Presb. Church Case, pp. 136, 562

‡ Crocker's Catastrophe, p. 114.

to ingratiate themselves with the people, and sneered at the Old School as enemies to revivals, behind the spirit of the age, unilluminated by the glorious light of the nineteenth century, groping in the gloom of the dark ages, and unable to keep up with the modern march of mind. They had no commendations except for men of the right stamp, by which cant phrase they meant such only as coincided in all respects with themselves. Anniversary meetings, resembling the Great Week at New York, were got up with incredible pains, at various prominent points, such as Cincinnati, Lexington, Alton, St. Louis and Jacksonville. Those who looked farther than the surface of things, fancied they could detect a secret plot to undermine the whole fabric of Presbyterianism; to alter the Confession of Faith, or retain it only "for substance of doctrine;" to introduce teachers of the New Divinity into Princeton Seminary; and to make the whole Church essentially Congregational under a Presbyterian name.*

In Kentucky the controversy never had so much reference to doctrinal differences as to the mode of conducting education and home missions, in which subject the West naturally felt a deep interest. There, as elsewhere, the consequences of the collision between the rival institutions were heartburnings, suspicions, alienations of feeling, disaffection among ministers and churches, and all the concomitant evils of separate action.† At first, indeed, Kentucky had hailed the organization of the American Home Missionary Society; Dr. Blythe had seconded the motion for the adoption of its constitution; and the Synod had repeatedly given it their annual collections.‡ But when they found it systematically sending New School missionaries, unasked, to supply their vacancies, and observed its immense and growing patronage,§ they feared a deep-laid plot to secure a balance of

* Dr. Wilson's Four Propositions, Cincinnati, 1831. Dr. Peters' Plea for Union in the West, Official Reply of the Board of Missions. Cushman's Appeal to the public, against the Four Propositions. Dr. Carnahan's article in the Bibl. Repertory, 1829, exposing the enormous patronage of the Am. Education Soc. Prof. Stuart's Examination; both republished in pamphlet form.

† Letter of Messrs. Hall, Young, and Hinckley, (editor of the West. Luminary,) dated Lexington, Aug. 22, 1830, and addressed to the Committee of the Cinc. Pby. Four Prop. p. 10.

‡ Four Prop. p. 18. Min. Syn. Ky. vol. iii. p. 157; vol. iv. pp. 21, 31.

§ "Power over a man's support has always been held and admitted to be power over his will." Senator Benton's speech on the N. Y. Custom House

power by an artful distribution of their adherents among the presbyteries. Dr. Blythe and Dr. Wilson were among the first to take the alarm.

So high did the feud rise, and so flagrant were its evils, that the General Assembly, in May, 1831,* on the instigation of the New School party, directed the Western Presbyteries to confer together on the best method of conducting missions, and report the next year. In consequence of this recommendation, opposed by Dr. Wilson, but seconded by a circular from the West Lexington Presbytery, a convention of forty-three delegates from twenty presbyteries in the Valley of the Mississippi met at Cincinnati, November 23d, 1831. The delegates from Kentucky were Messrs. Cameron, Blythe, Steel, Paxton, Whitney, W. L. Breckenridge, ministers; and Messrs. Harbison, Robt. J. Breckenridge, T. P. Smith, and Hodge, ruling elders; all except Messrs. Whitney and Smith, Old School men, and in favor of the Assembly's Board. Dr. Blythe was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Samuel Steele, of Kentucky, and the Rev. A. O. Patterson, of Ohio, Secretaries.

From an analysis of the votes, and reports of Presbyteries not represented, it may be gathered that of forty-seven Presbyteries in the Valley, twenty-one were in favor of the Assembly's Board; seven in favor of the Home Missionary Society, or independent action; four were divided; and from fifteen there was no report. Six Synods expressed their opinions, and five were not heard from. The Synod of Kentucky, at its meeting a month previous, had decidedly advocated the General Assembly as the safest depository of power.† The Convention sat for seven days, and the discussions were spirited. By an overwhelming vote, they decided in favor of the General Assembly's mode of conducting missions, and deprecated any union of the conflicting institutions as fraught with mischief.‡ They also

* This was the Assembly which acquitted Mr. Barnes for his sermon on the Way of Salvation; and to which was submitted Dr. John H. Rice's Overture on the distinctive duty of the Church to conduct missions. This year (1831) Tabor Presbytery was erected by the Synod of Kentucky, in the northern part of the State, and dissolved the year following. Min. Syn. vol. iv. p. 261; v. p. 10.

† Min. of Convention, pp. 10, 20.

‡ Min. of Conv. p. 8. The vote was 54 to 15; the votes having been proportioned according to the ratio of Presbyterial representation.

addressed a circular to the Churches.* The elders drew up a separate memorial to the next Assembly, on the subject of unequal representation.†

The Minority published a counter-report, in which they complained bitterly of the heavy vote of the Synod of Pittsburg, and endeavored to weaken the force of the decision. The result of the whole was, that all went on as before, save that the war was no longer a covert one. As for the final vote, the New School treated it with not the smallest respect; though the proposition had emanated from them, with the tacit understanding that the decision was to be binding on all parties.‡

For four years the New School had a controlling influence in the Assembly, and paralyzed every effort of the Church to move in her distinctive character. Then came, in 1834, the Act and Testimony (of which Robert J. Breckenridge, by this time ordained a clergyman, and become the master spirit of the Reform movement, was the drafter,) complaining of doctrinal errors, the relaxation of discipline, and the alarming violation of Church order. The signatures swelled to two thousand and seventy-five; ninety-seven of which came from Kentucky, viz: seventeen ministers and eighty elders.§ In the fall succeeding, the Synod adopted the entire paper, being the only Synod that did so, besides that of Philadelphia.||

The convention and memorial of 1835, and the measures of the Old School majority in the Assembly, must be left to the general historian.¶ In the fall, the Synod of Kentucky expressed their gratification with the transfer of the Western Foreign

* Min. of Conv. p. 19.

† Balt. Lit. and Relig. Mag. vol. iv. p. 104.

‡ Mem. of Monfort and others, praying a redress of grievances, p. 9.

§ Act and Testimony, pamphlet form, pp. 28. Defence of the Act and Testimony, by the drafter, pp. 8.

|| Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 55-57. Balt. Lit. and Rel. Mag. vol. vi. p. 98. This was not done without discussion. Two substitutes for the paper were offered, one by President Young, the other by Dr. Cleland, both of which were rejected; and the original paper was carried by the overwhelming vote of fifty-seven ayes to two noes, and five non liquets.

¶ This year occurred the trials of Messrs. Barnes and Beecher. This year also appeared Marshall's Disc., before the W. Lex. Pby., on the Peace and Union of the Church; pp. 22. Dr. Wilson's Letter to Bishop, pp. 14; One Proposition sustained against the New School, exposing their revolutionizing schemes, pp. 16; and Plea in the case of Beecher, before Syn. of Cinc., pp. 120; Review of Barnes on Rom. pp. 30; the Moderates and Ultra Partisans, pp. 17; W. L. Breckenridge's Letters to Presbyterians, pp. 39.

Missionary Society, and also recommended the Kentucky Education Society, which was designed to aid beneficiaries in Centre College.* In 1836, the New School regained their ascendancy in the Assembly, and rescinded all that had been done the preceding year.

In the fall of 1836, the Synod of Kentucky met at Bardstown, and took a stand long to be remembered. A series of strong resolutions was offered by the Rev. Samuël V. Marshall, (son of the late Robert Marshall,) the substance of which passed in the form of a substitute proposed by the Rev. W. L. Breckinridge, condemning Barnes' Notes on Romans: (ayes, 34; noes, 9; non liquet, 5;) deploring the refusal to take distinctive action on foreign missions; (ayes, 40; noes, 7;) recommending the Western Foreign Missionary Society; solemnly declaring the farther operation of the American Home Missionary Society and the American Education Society within their bounds to be against their wishes and consent; (ayes, 39; noes, 10;) and requesting those Societies to retire without delay from their bounds, and make no further collections in their churches, nor in any way continue to operate within the Synod's geographical limits; (ayes, 33; noes, 14; n. l., 3.)† Eleven members, seven of whom were ministers, entered their protest against the above resolutions. The Synod passed a vote highly approbatory of the Assembly's Board of Domestic Missions, whose plan was presented by its indefatigable and successful agent, the Rev. Sylvester Scovel, now President of South Hanover College. The annual collection was given to the Western Foreign Missionary Society, under the patronage of the Synod of Pittsburgh.‡

While the New School, flushed with the insolence of recent triumph in the Assembly of 1836, counted on the tame submission or sullen secession of their opponents, a simultaneous burst of indignation broke from the Old School ranks. The spirit of the party was thoroughly aroused. The eyes of the most sceptical were opened; Moderates and Middle men no longer held back. Princeton, which had at first reprobated the Act and Tes-

* Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 59, 73. Synod also approved the course of Ebenezer Phyl. in requiring a candidate to leave Oberlin Institute, p. 70.

† Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 81-83.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 79, 80.

timony, threw her weight into the scale. The friends of orthodoxy and sound Presbyterianism rallied in an unbroken mass, and prepared for a united and vigorous charge along the whole line. In the Reform Measures of 1837, the establishment of a Board of Foreign Missions, the dissolution of the Elective Affinity Presbytery, the abrogation of the Plan of Union, and the disowning of the four unconstitutional Synods, the Synod of Kentucky heartily concurred.

When the Schism took place the following year, 1838, (the details of which cannot be here narrated,*) the commissioners from Kentucky, chosen with an eye to the probable result, did their duty to a man, both in the Assembly and the Convention which preceded it. In the ensuing fall, the Synod formally declared its adherence to the Old School Assembly.

This meeting of the Synod was at Paris, October 12th, 1838, and was fraught with interest. It was known that there was a dissatisfied minority, and it was whispered that they had held a secret convention in the same place a short time previous; but some of the leading members of both parties conferring together in private, they came to a mutual understanding to maintain harmony and avoid a division.

The committee on the minutes of the General Assembly submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted without debate :—

“1. *Resolved*, That this Synod recognize and acknowledge the General Assembly which organized and continued to hold its sessions in the *Seventh* Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, in May last, of which the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer was Moderator, as the *only true General Assembly* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

“2. *Resolved*, That the decisions of civil courts† can only extend to church property, and cannot in any way affect the ecclesiastical rights and standing of churches and church mem-

* See, for a minute account of those transactions, Breckinridge's Documentary Hist. of the Assembly of 1837, and Memoirs, to serve as a Hist. of the Semi-Pelag. Controv. in the Presb. Ch., Balt. Lit. and Rel. Mag. vols. iii. iv. v.

† The Trustees elected by the New School Assembly sued those of the Old School, in the Court of Nisi Prius, Pennsylvania, March 4, 1839, when judgment was given by Judge Rodgers in their favor; but the decision was reversed, as contrary to evidence, by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice Gibson presiding, May 8th, on a motion for a new trial. See Miller's Church case, pp. 461, 587.

bers, and whatever may be their decisions in relation to the funds of the Church, we will adhere to the said General Assembly.”

The yeas and nays were called for on the first of these resolutions, and the yeas amounted to 77. There were no nays, nor non liquets. The second resolution was adopted unanimously.*

Dr. Cleland then presented the following paper, with a request that it might be recorded immediately after the preceding resolutions :—

“We, the undersigned, anxious to preserve the harmony and influence of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, do hereby assent to the resolutions proposed with the following explanations: 1. In affirming that the Assembly which met in the 7th Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia in May last, is the only true General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, we mean distinctly to say that we do *submit to it*. While, on the one hand, we express no opinion as to the legal question now pending between the conflicting Assemblies, we are free to state, on the other, that no decision of that question by the civil magistrate shall influence our future course. 2. We declare our *adherence* to said Assembly, but distinctly *withhold* our approbation of the Reform Measures of the Assemblies of ’37 and ’38. *Thomas Cleland, Jos. C. Stiles, Jno. H. Brown, Andw. A. Shannon, G. W. Kennedy, Saml. Maccoun, D. M. Winston, P. L. McAbay, Edw. P. Humphrey, Wm. Dickey, H. St. John Van Dake, John H. Berryman, Charles Philips, Jos. Wilson, Timothy Root, Jno. Rootes Thornton, E. Herriott, David Castleman, J. T. Hendrick.*”

Whereupon, Synod ordered the following minute to be recorded :—“Synod very cheerfully permits this paper to be put upon the records; at the same time reaffirming our cordial approval of the leading acts of the General Assemblies of 1837 and 1838.”†

All hearts beat high with pleasure at this amicable termination of affairs, and the fraternal spirit which appeared to prevail. The ministers returned to their labors with renewed alacrity, and encouraging revivals occurred in several places. But the

* Min. Syn. vol. v. p. 113.

† Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 114, 115. The names of the ministers in the above document have been italicized for convenience sake. It was signed by eleven ministers, and eight ruling elders; nineteen in all.

prospect was soon overcast. At the meeting of the Synod at Hopkinsville, October 9th, 1839, it was painfully evident that the elements of discord had been at work. The Bowling-green Church had admitted a New School minister to supply their pulpit, and their conduct came up by a reference from Muhlenburg Presbytery. After inquiring into the case, the Synod admonished the church of the consequences of employing a minister not in connection with them; and declared the invitation disorderly and irregular, and the conduct of the individual in question an indelicate and unchristian intrusion.*

While the seeds of trouble were sown in the south-western section, the northern region was not exempted from the same baleful influence. The minority, notwithstanding their promise of submission and adherence at Paris, were restive and uneasy. At the request of Mr. Stiles, an Interlocutory meeting was held with closed doors.† Messrs. Cleland and Stiles then took the opportunity of unbosoming themselves at some length. The grievances of which they complained were the arbitrary action of the General Assembly, and the publications in the periodical under the patronage of the Synod.‡ They interpreted the arrangement at Paris as a compromise, by which both parties bound themselves to mutual silence on the points of difference. Messrs. Burch, W. L. Breckinridge, and Rice, took the floor in vindication of the Synod, and of the paper, of which the two last-named gentlemen were joint editors. It was explicitly maintained by them that all the Synod meant was, that the minority would not be required to *approve* the acts of 1837 and 1838; while it was their understanding that so long as approval was not required, the minority consented to *adhere and submit* in good faith. This agreement the Synod had never violated on their part, nor

* Min. Syn. vol. v. p. 131.

† Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 125, 129.

‡ The only connection of the Synod with the Protestant and Herald, was a recommendation of it to the churches. The articles which gave so much offence were certain numbers by Mr. Rice, since published in pamphlet form, (pp. 80,) entitled *The Old and New Schools*. This was a masterly production, and clearly stated the views of the New School on the subjects of Imputation, Atonement, Justification, Regeneration, Ability, the Missionary Question, and Church Polity. There was also an editorial or two, by Mr. Breckinridge, severely reflecting on men who could unblushingly maltreat the church with which they were connected; which gave great offence, particularly the exclamation, "O shame! where is thy blush?" How little reason there was to complain, must be apparent from the admission into the Protestant and Herald, of a series of articles from Mr. Stiles' pen, as well as communications from Dr. Cleland in reply.

required approval of any one. As for the paper, it was not under the control of Synod, nor was Synod responsible for its articles. It was an independent press. In regard to the general issue, which, after so long slumber, and without any new provocation, was all at once revived, it was said by some of the speakers, that, for themselves, they could not stay in a church if their hearts were not in it.* This remark was misinterpreted into an invitation to leave the church, and it was considered as unkind in the Synod to suffer the interview to close without taking any steps to remove the impression.† The truth was, that in consequence of the dissatisfied brethren requesting leave of absence for private reasons, the Interlocutory meeting was abruptly terminated.‡ In consequence of this interruption several members of Synod who had intended to express their opinions, were prevented from doing so,§ and no action was had in the premises. The whole matter was afterwards exceedingly misrepresented, and made to furnish material for the new cry that was now got up, the pretence of persecution.

So far from regarding the admonition of the Synod, the Bowling-green Church, or rather, a portion of them, took an independent stand, and published to the world their reasons, in a pamphlet, written by the Rev. Archer C. Dickerson, and signed by himself and the Session.||

Mr. Stiles, true to the new ground he had taken, although for the last three years he had professed total ignorance of the controversy, and perfect indifference to it, (absorbed in lecturing and writing against Campbellism,¶) delivered two discourses at Versailles, on the first Sabbath in January following, (1840,) of a highly inflammatory character; in which he inveighed with great severity against the Assemblies of '37 and '38, and the course pursued by the Synod. These discourses produced such a ferment that a called meeting of the West Lexington Presbytery was held at Versailles on the 21st of the month, to take

* See Price's Speech, p. 21.

† Manifesto, p. 2.

‡ Min. Syn. vol. v. pp. 129, 130.

§ Price's Speech, p. 46. Reply to the Manifesto, p. 6.

|| An Expression of the Views of the Presbyterian Church at Bowling-green, Ky., relative to the late dismemberment of the Presb. Ch. in the U. S., pp. 14.

¶ Mr. Stiles had held several oral debates with Mr. Campbell, Mr. Johnson, &c. See Letter to Alex. Campbell, pp. 57, Reply to Alex. Campbell, No. 2, pp. 56. He also contemplated publishing a controversial newspaper.

into consideration the sermons and the distracted state of the congregation. Some of the older members were for stringent and decisive measures to arrest the evil, others were persuaded that nothing would be lost by delay, while several churches might be saved which premature action might alienate. The milder counsels prevailed, and Mr. Stiles was cautioned to be more careful in his future course and statements. Two or three ministerial friends had a private conference with him, in which they represented the evils and hazards of his course. But their representations were in vain; he was obstinately bent on procuring a repeal of the Assembly's obnoxious acts by exciting an overwhelming public sentiment against them among the private members of the Church.

The Rev. JOSEPH C. STILES, D.D., was a native of Georgia, (whence he removed about two or three years previously to the time we are describing,) and had been a lawyer by profession. He was endowed by nature with a tall, commanding person, impetuous and impulsive feelings, an exuberant fancy, an earnest vehemence of manner, and a perfect torrent of eloquence. His fluency, animation, and zeal, made him a highly popular preacher. But with these qualities he combined all the elements of an enthusiast. He relied on a divine warrant for the course he pursued; and regardless of consequences and results, pressed forward, acknowledging that all was dark before him, but praying for light to enable him to take one step at a time. After such prayers, he felt a happiness that he was satisfied God would not permit him to experience if he were in error.*

The Rev. THOMAS CLELAND, D.D., was born in Maryland, A.D. 1777, and at an early age removed to Washington county, Kentucky. His father intended him for the law, but his own preferences were for the ministry. Always serious and sedate, his religious impressions were deepened under the preaching of Dr. Blythe, while at Pisgah academy. His education was interrupted by the death of his father, and the consequent necessity of his succeeding to the business, which was that of an inn-keeper. When twenty-four years old, he attended the great camp-meeting at Cane Ridge, in 1801, on which occasion he ex-

* See a curious instance of his early insubordination, Price's Speech, p. 32; and of his boasting of having "scared" Alexander Campbell by the directness of his prayers. Reply to Campbell, No. 2, p. 42.

horted for two hours, to which several persons traced their conversion. After this he was frequently asked to counsel the sick and distressed in mind, and to exhort in public. When the Presbytery of Transylvania met some months afterwards to ordain Mr. Robertson, Mr. Cleland repaired thither for the double purpose of obtaining a supply for his neighborhood, and of procuring a clergyman to marry him. After the ceremony was performed, the Presbytery went into session, and at about eleven o'clock at night, sent for Mr. Cleland to meet them. To his surprise they urged him to prepare for the ministry, and after a long interview, released him at one o'clock, charging him to consider the matter, and give them an answer in the morning. What degree of reflection a young man was likely to bestow upon such a subject on his wedding night, must be left to the reader's conjectures. In due time Mr. Cleland was licensed, and for awhile was connected with one of Mr. Templin's churches in Washington county. The standing he enjoyed among his brethren may be inferred from his being one of the Commission of Synod in the Cumberland difficulties, in 1805. In 1813, he was ordained over New Providence and Cane Run (now Harrodsburg) churches, where he labored for many years with remarkable success. He was blessed with several revivals, and hundreds looked to him as their spiritual father. Dr. Cleland has been a diligent student, and has wielded the pen with signal ability against Mr. Stone, and against Alexander Campbell. His writings were popular and had an extensive sale. His printed works are, 1. *A Brief History of the Action of Synod in the case of the Cumberland Presbyterians*, 1823, pp. 29, 8vo. 2. *The Socini-Arian Detected*, a series of letters to B. W. Stone, 1815, pp. 101. 12mo. 3. *Unitarianism Unmasked*, a Reply to Stone's Letters to Blythe, 1825, pp. 184. 12mo. 5. *Narrative of the Bodily Exercises*, in the *Biblical Repertory*, July, 1834. 6. *Letters on Campbellism*. 7. *A Hymn Book*, selected for the use of prayer meetings, revivals, &c., an excellent collection, and extensively used in the West. That one who had been so valorous a champion for orthodoxy and sound order should throw himself into the arms of the New School, naturally created some surprise; but, notwithstanding his popularity, (to secure which great pains were taken to win him over,) he failed to carry the great body of his church along with him.

Before the close of the winter appeared a manifesto, signed by Messrs. Cleland, Stiles, Winston, and Maccoun. Mr. Winston was the bosom friend of Mr. Stiles, and had recently accompanied him from Georgia. Mr. Maccoun was an elder of Dr. Cleland's Church. The manifesto denounced in no measured terms the reform measures as erecting a new basis, and invited a convention of sympathizers at Versailles.*

On the 17th of March the Convention met. It was composed of nine ministers and twenty elders, some of whom attended solely with a view to preserve peace and prevent an open schism.† Two of the ministers were avowed New School men, and not in connection with the Old School Assembly, Messrs. Dickerson and Alexander Wheeler Campbell,‡ After a session of two days, the Convention adjourned to meet again at the call of the chairman; a committee being appointed to issue an address to the public, setting forth their views. In this whole business Mr. Stiles was the leading spirit, and the Address bears the evident impress of his fervid pen.§

Now were the meetings of Presbytery converted into scenes of continual altercation. Mr. Stiles omitted no opportunity of introducing his favorite opinions, while the reform measures

* "A Manifesto, containing a plain statement of facts, relative to the acts and doings of the General Assembly and its inferior judicatories, together with the sentiments of the undersigned members of the Synod of Kentucky," p. 22. To this manifesto a "Reply" was published by the writer of these pages, which called forth an "Answer" from the Rev. Harvey Woods; a further notice in "The Presbyterian Controversy Settled," by Dr. Cleland; and a "Review" by Dr. Stiles, in the *Presbyterian Sentinel*, vols. i. and ii. (a periodical started in Louisville, by the dissatisfied brethren, in the fall of 1841.) Each of the three condescended to petty personalities, unworthy of themselves and of the grave controversy in which they were embarked. The New School Assembly, by an odd misnomer, assumed the name of The *Constitutional* Assembly, although retaining the *unconstitutional* Congregational elements; while to that of the Old School was given the equally inappropriate title of The *New Basis* Assembly, although they were actually restoring the *old* basis of the Church. This latter term was a perversion of the very harmless words in the first of the Three Acts of 1838, requiring adherence "upon the basis of the Assemblies of 1837 and 1838;" meaning nothing more than submission to the reform measures of those Assemblies.

† Price's Speech, p. 35.

‡ This is the gentleman who distinguished himself in the New School Assembly of 1846 by his proposal of a joint celebration of the Lord's Supper by the two Assemblies, as an initiative towards a re-union. This may be regarded as a well-meant atonement for his divisive course in Kentucky, although by the blundering way in which it was managed, it did more harm than good, and served to postpone the desired re-union.

§ See Proceedings of the Convention at Versailles, with Address, p. 21.

found able advocates in Messrs. Price and Bullock. At length matters reached a crisis. A respectable minority of the Versailles congregation memorialized the West Lexington Presbytery against Mr. Stiles' being settled part of his time over them, on account of their disapprobation of his proceedings. The Presbytery, in the exercise of that supervisory power with which the constitution invests them,* acceded to their wishes. Upon this, the session undertook to discipline the memorialists, among whom was one of their own number whom they suspended. On their appeal to the Presbytery, this decision was reversed, and the session themselves deposed on the ground of malicious prosecution, and manifest unfitness for their office. The Session in turn appealed to the Synod; and the appeal was issued at Danville, September 24th. After a warmly contested trial, the Synod, "in view of the extraordinary nature of the Session's proceedings, the obvious partiality, prejudice, injustice, and irregularity of their course," sustained the decision of the Presbytery, with the exception of the suspension from church privileges. The Presbytery being technically out of the house, the vote stood, ayes, 20; noes, 10; non liquet, 1.†

Heated by enthusiasm, flattered by his satellites, spurred on by his correspondents, and mistaking the caution of the Presbytery for cowardice, Mr. Stiles became insufferably arrogant in his demeanor. The Presbytery waited their time, unmoved, and were neither to be hurried nor provoked by his taunts or defiance;‡ for they perceived that every month's delay strengthened their hands and weakened those of their adversaries. The malcontents, finding that they had little hope of success unless they could appeal to the native repugnance of the Western people to tyranny and oppression, were clamorous for persecution, and eager for the influence and popularity which such a cry would create; but the prudent conduct of the Church Courts afforded not the slightest pretext for such an appeal. In truth it would have been too ridiculous to pretend in one breath that

* Form of Govt. Book I. c. X. sect. 8.

† Min. Syn. vol. v. p. 145.

‡ "Mr. Stiles had, in writing, complained to Synod that his Presbytery would not try him. He had, in a speech delivered to the Synod, taunted the Presbytery for not trying him, and more than insinuated that the Presbytery was afraid of him." Price's Speech, p. 7.

their power and influence intimidated the Old School body, and at the same time that they were so helpless as to be the victims of their unsparing persecution.

The result was precipitated by Mr. Stiles' circulating reports unfavorable to the veracity of the Rev. Jacob F. Price, formerly his bosom friend.* Mr. Price, conceiving it due to his own character not to rest under such imputations, arraigned Mr. Stiles before the West Lexington Presbytery on the double charge of public and private offences.

Mr. Stiles, in turn, tabled charges against Mr. Price. The personal difficulties were, however, adjusted at the meeting of the Synod, in September, through the friendly intervention of Dr. Blythe, President Young and General McAfee. Mutual concessions were made, and all the private charges were withdrawn. Mr. Price was willing to withdraw the public charges also; but this Mr. Stiles would not permit, and insisted on a trial.†

Accordingly, in the month of November, 1840, the Presbytery met, in Versailles, and fearlessly entered on the discharge of their duty, in the midst of obloquy and revilings from the devoted partisans of the accused. One member was a viper; another was a bloodhound; another was a Grand Inquisitor; another was a Juvenile Patriarch; another was compared to the beast in the Revelation that looked like a lamb and spoke like a dragon. Mr. Stiles was tried on the general charge of "A Breach of Ministerial Vows, in attempting to produce Schism." Under this were embraced seven specifications, viz:

"SPECIFICATION I. By misrepresenting and holding up the acts of the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church, in sermons and various publications, as arbitrary, tyrannical, oppressive, &c., calculated to prejudice the character of the Church, when he had twice voted‡ to adhere and submit to the Old School Assembly, with a full knowledge of these acts.

"SPECIFICATION II. By misrepresenting the Synod at Hopkinstown, and attempting to throw odium upon it.

* Letter to Stiles, Price's Speech, p. 45. Mr. Price was pastor of the Pisgah congregation, and a descendant of the venerable Jacob Fishback.

† Price's Speech, p. 48.

‡ Once at Winchester, in 1838, on the vote to approve the Report of the writer of these pages, who had, as a Commissioner of the Presbytery, sat in the Old School Assembly; and a second time, at Paris, in Synod.

"SPECIFICATION III. By pursuing such a course, and making such representations of the Church, of which he is a minister and member, as tend to produce schism.

"SPECIFICATION IV. By declaring, in open Presbytery, and elsewhere, that he first purposed, upon his return from Synod last fall, to leave, but afterwards concluded to remain in his present ecclesiastical connection, to enlighten the minds of his brethren, and bring the Church over to his views, *i. e.*, to agitate and distract the churches.

"SPECIFICATION V. By aiding in calling a Convention, to be composed in part of ministers and laymen not in our ecclesiastical connection, to counsel and advise what he should do as to his present church relations.

"SPECIFICATION VI. By aiding and abetting the Session of the Versailles Presbyterian Church in a slanderous and party prosecution, against the minority of said church, for expressing in memorials to the West Lexington Presbytery their belief of the injurious tendency of his course.

"SPECIFICATION VII. By aiding and abetting the Rev. A. W. Campbell, who has been attempting to draw off the Greer's Creek Church from its present ecclesiastical connection."*

The examination of the witnesses, and the hearing of the parties, occupied four days, after which the decision of the court was rendered, as follows:

"Presbytery having deliberately and seriously considered the case of prosecution against the Rev. J. C. Stiles, have come to the following conclusion or judgment, viz: That the charge and specifications preferred against the Rev. J. C. Stiles are established by the evidence; and that he be admonished by the Moderator of the serious and lamentable evils he has occasioned to the Church and its judicatories by his imprudent, agitating, revolutionary and schismatical course, and that he be warned against a continuance of such conduct; and further, that Mr. Stiles be requested to subscribe the following acknowledgment, viz: 'I acknowledge the course I have pursued to be wrong, and attended with evil consequences, which I deeply regret, and I

* Mr. Stiles had assisted Mr. Campbell in holding a sacramental meeting at this church, with a view to Mr. C.'s settlement, and had sat down at the table, and taken the elements from his hands.

solemnly promise, in reliance on Divine grace, to abstain in future from all such measures as tend to divide and distract the Church.' And if Mr. Stiles now submit to this decision, he be considered as in good standing in the Church ; but if he refuse to submit, that he be forthwith suspended, for contumacy, from all the functions of the Gospel ministry, until he shall submit."

The above minute was adopted by the following vote : Ayes, 21 ; (nine ministers, twelve elders,) Noes, 3 ; (all of whom were elders.)

The decision was then read to the defendant, to which he refused to submit, or to any censure the body might deliver ; whereupon the Moderator proceeded to pronounce the sentence of suspension from all the functions of the Gospel ministry.* The defendant rose in his place and received the sentence, and immediately left the house, followed by a large number of his adherents, principally of the female sex, some of whom made insulting remarks to the members as they passed. The Presbytery, the next year, finding that Mr. Stiles continued to preach notwithstanding this suspension, passed a resolution to depose him from the office of the ministry, and recognize him no more as a minister or member of the Presbyterian Church.

Meantime, in the course of the winter, the Convention met in the city of Lexington, for the double purpose of shielding Mr. Stiles, and of gathering a great harvest from the two Presbyterian Churches in that place. They had been promised hundreds of adherents if they would make a strong demonstration there ; but although they were in session several days, (in the Methodist Church,) and had many discussions and speeches, and had now, in addition, the magic spell of pretended persecution to conjure with, they gained not a single proselyte from the second church, and but half a dozen from the first. The Convention resolved itself into a Synod, embracing three Presbyteries, each Presbytery consisting of a bare quorum of ministers ; some of whom were importations from Ohio and Tennessee. One of their first acts was to restore Mr. Stiles. The new Synod (which took the name of the Synod of Kentucky, and for a time assumed an independent stand, but soon after joined the New School Assembly) commenced its career with nine or ten ministers, and a frag-

* Min. of West Lex. Pby. Price's Speech, p. 42.

ment of a church; but in 1842 they boasted of eleven ministers and fourteen churches. They have had little accession to their strength of late, especially since the master-spirit, Mr. Stiles, removed to Richmond, Virginia. The New School Synod of Kentucky at present embraces the Presbytery of Harmony, with six ministers and nine churches; the Presbytery of Providence, with four ministers and five churches; and the Presbytery of Green river, with four ministers and seven churches; in all, fourteen ministers, twenty-one churches, and nine hundred and fifty-four communicants.*

It was rumored in the year 1845 that they took into serious consideration the subject of a re-union with the Old School Synod, but having previously agreed to do nothing unless they could be unanimous, and two of the members (understood to be Dr. Cleland and Mr. Dickerson) opposing the proposition, it was dropped.

The failure of this attempt to create an important schism, in spite of the eloquence of one of the parties, and the respect and affection which clustered round the name of another, reflects great credit on the firmness and Christian courtesy of the Old School body. Seldom has there been so overwhelming a majority that used their power with so much moderation. They were indeed greatly grieved at the defection of such a man as Dr. Cleland, and would even now gladly hail his return. They could not easily forget the noble part he acted in the stormy times of 1805, when he sat as one of the Commission of Synod to adjust the Cumberland Presbyterian difficulties, and they lamented the contrast between his present and his former positions.

In 1841, the Presbyterian Church was called to mourn the loss of that eminent servant of God, the Rev. JOHN BRECKINRIDGE, D.D. This eloquent and popular divine was born July 4th, 1797, at Cabill's Dale, the family seat, near Lexington, Kentucky. His father was the late Hon. John Breckinridge, a leading statesman in his day, and Attorney-General of the United States under President Jefferson. His mother was of the Cabell family of Virginia. She was a remarkably strong-minded woman, and like the mother of the Gracchi, might look with pardonable pride

* Min. N. S. G. A. for 1846.

upon her children, whom it was her first care to teach to fear God, her next, not to fear the face of man. He was educated at Nassau Hall, under President Green, and was designed for the law; but in the midst of his gay and wild career, he was converted by the grace of God, and devoted himself to the ministry, much against his family's (then) wishes. In 1822 he was made Chaplain to Congress; and in 1823 ordained pastor of the 2d or McChord Church in Lexington, in his native State. Here he successfully combated Dr. Holley, and the Infidel party who supported him; to aid in which contest he established the Western Luminary. In 1826, he was called to the Second Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, and under his faithful ministry a powerful revival soon followed. In 1831, he was appointed Corresponding Secretary and General Agent of the Assembly's Board of Education; to which he gave such an impulse during the five years he was at the helm, as to augment the number of beneficiaries from sixty to a thousand. Without doubt, the Old School cause was indebted for much of its stability to his unparalleled energy and exertions. In 1836, he went to Princeton Seminary, as Professor of Pastoral Theology, but resigned the chair in 1838, for the more active duties of the Agency of the Assembly's new Board of Foreign Missions. To this object he brought his characteristic enthusiasm, and contributions flowed into the treasury in an unwonted stream. He not only travelled, or rather flew, over the United States, but extended his tour to the republic of Texas, where he was treated by the highest functionaries with marked respect, and was requested to nominate chaplains for the navy. His health failing, he resigned, and spent two winters in New Orleans, preaching to the church of which he was elected pastor. Had his life been spared, he would have accepted the Presidency of Oglethorpe University in Georgia. But his race was run. The effect of his residence in the South was to derange his biliary organs, prostrate his nervous energy, and develope bronchitis. He returned to the family seat, Cabell's Dale, and died, after a protracted illness, on the 4th of August, 1841, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His last hours were tranquil; not triumphant, but serene. He reposed with firm faith on the mediation of the Redeemer. He calmly watched the cessation of his pulse, and the various symptoms of approaching death. His last words

were, "God is with me !" A little after he sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.*

Dr. Breckinridge was twice married. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Dr. Miller, of Princeton ; his second was Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Babcock, of Stonington, Connecticut. He left one son and three daughters.

Dr. Breckinridge was a model of manly beauty, and his finely proportioned person was set off by the most affable deportment and courtly manners. He was a Christian gentleman, in every sense of the word. His popularity was unbounded, and he won all hearts wherever he appeared. He occupied the foremost rank among the pulpit orators of America. All classes were alike captivated by his eloquence, though they might not be able to tell wherein lay the charm. His oratory was of that glowing and earnest style peculiar to the South, which cares little for satisfying the intellect if it cannot also reach the heart. When he spoke, every feature of his countenance was lit up with expression. Brilliant in the pulpit, and tender in pastoral visitation, he yet excelled in that practical tact and mastery of other men's minds which peculiarly fit for great undertakings. Sanguine in his temperament, he infected every one else with his enthusiasm. Fearless and intrepid, he never forgot, nor allowed others to forget, that he was a Kentuckian. Of an active turn, he was incessantly occupied, in addition to his professional duties, with the various benevolent schemes of the day ; and of colonization in particular, he was an ardent, and, amid the hisses and denunciations of its enemies, an unflinching advocate. He shrank not from polemical discussion, and once maintained a controversy

* Will it be believed, that of such a man, and after so short an interval, the scandalous story should be raised, that on his death-bed he repented bitterly of having spoken against the Roman Catholic Church, and begged to unburden his conscience to a priest, but that his hard-hearted brothers refused, and buried him in silence and privacy ! This atrocious calumny has been recently told by the (Roman) Catholic News Letter, of St. Louis!!! His brothers, William and Robert, have published an indignant and unqualified denial of the whole fabrication. The writer of these pages may be permitted to add, that he visited and conversed with this eminent servant of God during his last sickness, and was present at his burial, amid the ashes of his kindred. The funeral was attended by a large and respectable concourse, from Lexington and the immediate vicinity, and a sermon was preached on the occasion by the pastor of the neighboring church. He hesitates not to pronounce this story one of the most base and malignant libels ever propagated. The News Letter has felt itself compelled to retract the falsehood, in the most unequivocal manner, but ignorance and prejudice will doubtless continue to retail the calumny.

with the Roman Catholic Bishop, Hughes, who found him no contemptible antagonist. He fell a sacrifice to his unwearied activity. In Baltimore, in 1829, he ruptured a blood-vessel, but when urged by his medical adviser to desist from preaching, "Doctor," said he, "I had rather *wear* out than *rust* out in my Master's service." Visiting the writer of this sketch on his way to New Orleans, in 1840, the doubt was suggested whether the climate would not injure his shattered constitution, and never will his characteristic answer be forgotten. Quoting a remark of Whitefield, he replied, while his eye kindled with unnatural lustre, "*I am immortal till my work is done.*"

In the year 1846, died the Rev. JOSHUA LACY* WILSON, D.D. He was born in Bedford county, Virginia, Sept. 22, 1774, and in the fall of 1781, when seven years of age, removed to the neighborhood of Danville, Kentucky, with his mother and step-father, John Templin, father of Terah Templin. They spent two years in stations, and at Harrod's Station heard Mr. Rice's first sermon. They afterwards removed to a small farm in Jessamine county. He was brought up to the trade of a blacksmith, and had no education beyond what his mother gave him, till he was twenty-two years old. At that period he was converted, and joined the Jessamine Church. He was baptized by Mr. Crawford, in a log house, with an earthen floor and a fire in the centre, the smoke escaping as it could. Being of a vigorous and inquiring mind, he now sold the farm, and with the proceeds procured an education at Pisgah Academy and elsewhere, and afterwards became himself a teacher in Frankfort. Here he spent two years, and commenced reading law, but abandoned it for theology. He studied with Rev. Mr. Vance on Beargrass, in 1800, and assisted him at the same time in his classical school. In 1802 he was licensed at Spring Hill, Tennessee, (Mr. Craighead's church,) and in 1804 was ordained pastor of Bardstown and Big-Spring Churches, being now thirty years of age. In 1805, he sat as a member of the Commission of Synod in the Cumberland difficulties. In 1808, he was called to the (First) Church in Cincinnati, where he remained for thirty-eight years, part of the time teaching a classical school.

This church had been organized in 1791, by Father Rice, and the pulpit had been filled by the Rev. James Kemper, William

* He was a nephew of the Rev. Drury Lacy, of Virginia.

Arthurs, Peter Wilson, M. G. Wallace, and John Davies. The town was small, having been built but five years, and contained only 1,500 inhabitants. The church consisted of but 80 members, scattered over 20 miles. It was then, and for twelve years, the only church in the place. But its growth was great. At one time it had 600 communicants, and from it have been colonized no fewer than five churches. In 1828, occurred a great revival, which originated in this congregation, when nearly five hundred were added to the First and Second Churches. The anxious-seat and camp-meetings were then introduced by Messrs. Ross and Gallaher, with the pastor's sanction, but he afterwards decidedly disapproved of them.

When the New School difficulties commenced, Dr. Wilson was one of the first to take the alarm. He threw down the gauntlet in 1831, by the publication of his *Four Propositions*, exposing the ambitious designs of the Home Missionary Society. The *Pandect* having been manœuvred out of his hands, and converted into the *Cincinnati Journal*, a New School print, he started the *Standard* without prospectus or subscriptions. Dr. William Ridgley and Mr. Cist aided gratuitously in the editorial department, (till Mr. Burtt was employed as sole editor,) and Messrs. John Mahard, James McIntire, John and Nathan Baker, and James Johnson, were the principal friends who aided with their purse.

Dr. Wilson was consulted by the Messrs. Lane about their projected Seminary, and was instrumental in inviting Dr. Beecher to its presidency in 1832; but becoming satisfied of Dr. Beecher's unsoundness, he prosecuted him for heresy, first before the Presbytery, and next before the Cincinnati Synod, in October, 1835. The appeal was sustained, and Dr. Beecher admonished to be more guarded in future. At the Synod's request Dr. Beecher published his *Views in Theology*, pp, 240, 12mo. Dr. Wilson, being dissatisfied with the mild course of the Synod, carried an appeal to the Assembly of 1836, but was persuaded to withdraw it, as Mr. Barnes' case would settle the principle involved. This unpleasant business was conducted throughout without any personal animosity, or a single unkind word, according to his distinguished adversary's own admission.

Dr. Wilson, for some years before his death, was in feeble health, in consequence of injuries received from the overturning

of a coach, and his son was associated with him in the pastoral charge. He departed this life on the 14th of August, 1846, in the 72d year of his age. His death-bed was composed and happy. "Heart cannot conceive," said he, with beaming countenance, "tongue cannot tell, what I feel; yes, all is well."

Dr. Wilson was not an eloquent man in the ordinary sense of the term; but his matter was weighty, well-digested, and perspicuous, and his manner deeply impressive, dignified, and devout. His person was uncommonly tall, and his presence commanding. He had some of the faults common to the self-educated; and his original and independent turn made him appear to some eccentric, to others bigoted and harsh. Thus he never would allow his portrait to be taken, as he deemed it a violation of the second commandment. But no one denied his stern unbending integrity, his candor, conscientiousness, and truth. His character was unsullied and beyond reproach. Whatever were his determinations, he stood up in their defence like a sturdy oak, that never bends its head to the storm; and when convinced of a mistake, he acknowledged it with equal promptness and magnanimity. For thirty-eight years he was at the head of every social, moral, and intellectual enterprise of the day in Cincinnati, and to his personal influence Cincinnati College is largely indebted for her existence and prosperity.

His published writings are: 1. Four Propositions sustained against the Home Missionary Society; 1831, pp. 19, 12mo. 2. Letter to Dr. Nelson; 1834, pp. 12, 12mo. 3. Letter to Dr. Bishop, 1835, pp. 14, 8vo. 4. A Pamphlet to the Editors of the Bibl. Repert. on the Act and Test., signed, A Gentleman. 5. One Proposition sustained against the New School; 1835, pp. 16, 12mo. 6. Plea before Synod of Cinc. in the case of Dr. Beecher; 1837, pp. 120, 8vo. 7. Episcopal Methodism, or Dagonism Exhibited, in answer to a poem in three cantos, called The Dagon of Calvinism, or the Moloch of Decrees. 8. A Discourse against Witchcraft; intended to apply to Mesmerism and Clairvoyance. 1846.

Here closes our sketch of the eventful history of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. We have seen the share which she has taken in the evangelization of the West, and the fruits of somewhat more than half a century's toil. Three generations ago, Kentucky was a tangled wilderness, whose silence was

broken only by the howl of the wild beast, or the whoop of the savage; but the wilderness has been reclaimed, and made to blossom, literally and metaphorically, as the rose. Where waved the forest or the cane-brake, now stand numerous churches, most of them neat and commodious, and some truly elegant in their structure, within whose walls the pure and simple rites of religion are decently celebrated every Sabbath, and the truths of the Gospel faithfully, and often eloquently, proclaimed. The pulpits are filled with a clergy, trained for the most part in halls founded by the unwearied perseverance of the Church, in spite of repeated opposition and defeat, and second to none in those sterling qualities which most adorn the sacred office. Amid all the fluctuations of theological opinion and the vicissitudes of conflicting parties, the Synod of Kentucky has maintained a firm and consistent stand; it has borne a bold and unequivocal testimony in favor of the ancient landmarks of truth and order; and there is no Synod in a more healthy, sound, and harmonious condition.* Among the eldership are found names that must be revered wherever judicious counsels and a godly life are held in esteem. The laity, less accustomed to read than to think, are shrewd and intelligent, and of an independent turn of mind. They are warm-hearted, frank, and hospitable, easily swayed by the impulse of the moment, and ready to go any length to serve a friend or chastise an enemy. The present generation are greatly in advance of their forefathers, as regards the support of the Gospel and the benevolent operations of the day. Owing to the frequent emigration of the population to more recently opened States, the churches appear stationary in point of numbers; but this is a fallacious appearance, and one which has been very unfairly quoted in certain quarters; since it is obvious on reflection, that to supply this constant drain, the churches must necessarily have large annual accessions. While the congregations in Kentucky are thinned by this wasting process, it is a consolatory thought that they are

* The Synod of Kentucky embraces six Presbyteries: Transylvania, West Lexington, Louisville, Muhlenburg, Ebenezer, and Bowling-green; seventy-nine ministers; one hundred and forty churches; and nine thousand five hundred communicants. The contributions during the year 1845 to the Assembly's Boards of Education and Foreign and Domestic Missions, and other benevolent objects, exceeded \$13,000; to say nothing of all that has been done for Centre College, which has an endowment of \$70,000.

serving as nurseries for the mighty West ; and that the migrating ministers and members are employed by Providence in scattering the seeds of Gospel truth and the institutions of the Church over the wide valley of the Mississippi. And finally, let it be recorded to their honor, that though outnumbered by several other sects, they are always among the foremost in every good word and work, and none exert a more sensible or wholesome influence upon the community. Hated and feared they may be, but never despised.

Connected with the history of this section of the Presbyterian Church are many names on which memory loves to linger : the patriarchal RICE ; the sprightly ALLEN ; the learned CAMPBELL ; the tender-hearted LYLE ; the dignified BLYTHE ; the caustic CAMERON ; the brilliant McCHORD ; the uncompromising WILSON ; the guileless STUART ; the courtly BRECKINRIDGE. It were easy to swell the list by the addition of living worthies, both from the clergy and the eldership, who have done good service to the cause of the Redeemer ; but their merits it is not for a contemporary to chronicle.

“ SALVE, MAGNA MATER VIRUM ! ”

MEMBERS OF THE SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.

1802.	1804.	1811.
David Rice, Samuel Findley, Matthew Houston, Samuel B. Robertson, Thomas Craighead, Terah Templin, James Balch, James McGready, William Hodge, John Bowman, William McGee, John Rankin, Samuel Donnell, William Mahon, Samuel McAdow, John Howe, James Vance, Archibald Cameron, Jeremiah Abell, James Crawford, Samuel Shannon, Isaac Tull, Robert Marshall, James Blythe, D.D., James Welch, Joseph P. Howe, Samuel Rannels, John Lyle, Barton W. Stone, William Robinson, James Kemper, John P. Campbell, M.D., Richard McNemar, John Thompson, John E. Finley, John Dunlavy, Matthew G. Wallace.*	Thomas Cleland, D.D., Joshua L. Wilson, D.D., Robert Wilson, Finis Ewing, John Andrews, James Hawe, Samuel King. 1805. James Gilleland, William Dicky, William Williamson, Robert G. Wilson, Robert B. Dobbins, Samuel Hodge, Thomas Nelson. 1807, Samuel T. Scott. 1808. Robert M. Cunningham, James Hoge, Samuel Woods. 1809. John Todd. 1810. Benj. Irvine, Duncan Brown, Nicholas Pittinger, Samuel K. Nelson, Joseph B. Lapsley, James W. Stephenson, Samuel Baldrige.	James H. Dickey, Isaac Anderson, D.D., Nathan H. Hall, Daniel Hayden, Samuel G. Ramsay, Charles Coffin, D.D., Mathew Donald, John McCampbell, James Witherspoon 1812. John Boyd, Jacob Lake, William Gray, Robert Henderson, Gideon Blackburn, D.D., John Gillespie. 1813. John Smith, James Gilleland. 1814. William W. Martin. 1815. Hugh Shaw, John R. Kerr, George Newton, Thomas J. Hall, James Smylie, Daniel Comfort, Joseph Bullin, William Montgomery, Andrew S. Morrison, Jacob Rickhow, David Wier.
1803. Robert Stuart.		

* Besides the above, there were in the original Presby. of Transylvania,—Cary H. Allen, Adam Rankin, Andrew McClure, Wm. Speer, Robt. Finley, Peter Wilson.

1816.	James L. Marshall, Samuel Taylor.	William G. Gallaher, John P. Trotter, Hugh Patton, Solomon G. Ward, Samuel Lynn.
William L. Stuart, Robert Hardin, James H. Bowman.	1825.	
1817.	Stephen Bliss, Alexander Williamson, George Bush, Tilly H. Brown, William Dickson, Lyman Whitney, Benjamin F. Spillman, Stephen Lindsley, Baynard R. Hall.	1831.
John T. Edgar, D.D., John R. Moreland, James McChord.		Joseph Huber, James T. Smith, William Rannels, W. L. Breckinridge, D.D., J. L. Yantis, J. F. Price.
1818.	1826.	1832.
Isaac Reed, John Rankin, Daniel C. Banks, John F. Crowe, D.D.	Samuel Steel, Samuel K. Saeed, William Henderson, Joseph C. Harrison, William M. King.	Simeon Salisbury, Samuel Calvert, Robert Davidson, D.D., Daniel C. Banks, George W. Ashbridge, Charles A. Campbell, Andrew M. Keith, William J. Keith, Lorin Andrews, W. L. Alexander.
1819.	1827.	
James C. Barnes, Samuel Caruthers, John R. Moreland, Robert H. Bishop, D.D.	Robert Holeman, Samuel V. Marshall, Samuel Y. Garrison, Simeon H. Crane, Alexander R. Curry, John N. Blackburn.	1833.
1820.	1828.	B. J. Wallace, Timothy Root, Charles Stewart, Isaac Van Doren, J. Wm. Blythe, Lewis D. Howell, Alexander Logan, John J. Rice.
Eli Smith, John McFarland, William L. McCalla, Thomas C. Searle.		1834.
1821.	David Nelson, M.D., Samuel Wilson, Samuel Davies Blythe, Thomas Caldwell, John J. Pierce, Samuel E. Blackburn, James H. Logan.	
Andrew A. Shannon, James K. Burch, David H. Phillips.	1829.	Alfred Hamilton, N. L. Rice, D.D., R. H. Lilly, Hervey Woods, John G. Simrall, John F. Coons, Latten W. Dunlap, David S. Todd.
1822.		1835.
Ralph Cushman.	John H. Brown, John C. Young, D.D., Eli N. Sawtell, John K. Cunningham, William H. Forsythe, John D. Paxton, Orramel S. Hinckley, John Jones, T. J. A. Mines, William Hamilton, John McDonald.	Henry J. Venable, Daniel Baker, H. H. Hopkins, D. L. Russell, William Hamilton, G. G. McAfee, William D. Jones.
1823.	1830.	
William Scott, John Breckinridge, D.D., Charles Phillips, Andrew Todd, Jerem. Chamberlain, D.D., John T. Hamilton, Robert A. Lapsley, Isaac Bard, Dewy Whitney.	James Hawthorn, N. M. Urmston.	
1824.		
David C. Proctor, John Hudson.		

1836.

Joshua T. Russell,
Michael A. Remley,
Andrew H. Kerr,
Edward P. Humphrey,
Samuel Lynn,
William W. Hall, M.D.,
Joseph Lane,
Joseph C. Stiles, D.D.,
D. M. Winston,
Samuel Wilson,
Thomas Cole.

1837.

Sylvester Scovel, D.D.,
W. B. Rice,
E. T. McLean,
David Page,
George W. Kennedy,
S. S. McRoberts,
John T. Hendrick,
Robert C. Grundy,
P. L. McAboy.

1838.

D. T. Stuart,
Justus M. Clark.
Geo. W. Coons,
Joseph J. Bullock,
John H. Condit,

1839.

W. W. Hill,
F. Thornton,

Isaac McIlvaine,
L. W. Green, D.D.,
George W. McElroy,
Samuel D. Stuart.

1840.

A. S. Howsley,
John Lyle,
William R. Preston.

1841.

J. Kennedy,
Joseph B. Hadden,
S. S. Templeton,
Robert F. Caldwell,
John S. Watt.

1842.

E. K. Lynn,
John Montgomery,
Aaron Hogue,
F. S. Howe,
Joseph Platt,
James Woods,
John D. Matthews,
William Orr.

1843.

James Greene,
H. S. Dickson,
William T. Venable,
William Y. Allen,
A. W. Young,
Joseph Templeton,
John Sherer,

James T. Lapsley,
C. A. Wylie,
William C. Matthews,
Abel A. Case,
G. B. Armstrong,
A. E. Thome.

1844.

Bryant D. Thomas,
Samuel Williams,
Robert A. Johnson,
H. P. Thompson,
Ralph Harris,
Joshua F. Green,
Ezekiel Forman,
Benjamin Boyd,
John M. McConaughy,
William G. Rice.

1845.

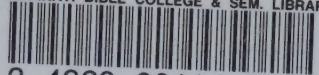
Jephtha Harrison,
Allen D. Metcalf,
William A. Smith,
J. D. Shane,
Bryce G. Fields,
J. C. Bayless,
J. S. H. Henderson.

1846.

James Smith,
Fielding N. Ewing,
Samuel W. Cheney,
F. G. Strahan,
Gilbert M. Hair,
D. L. Gray,
Peter Donan.

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